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A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E  
War in India.

B E T W E E N T H E  
E N G L I S H and F R E N C H,  
O N T H E  
C O A S T of C O R O M A N D E L,  
From the Year 1750 to the Year 1761.

T O G E T H E R W I T H  
A R E L A T I O N of the late Remarkable E V E N T S  
O N T H E  
M A L A B A R C O A S T,  
And the E X P E D I T I O N S to  
G O L C O N D A and S U R A T;

With the O P E R A T I O N S of the F L E E T.  
I L L U S T R A T E D W I T H M A P S, P L A N S, &c.  
The Whole compiled from O R I G I N A L P A P E R S.

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T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

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By R I C H A R D O W E N C A M B R I D G E, E s q;

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L O N D O N:

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, the Corner of St. Martin's-lane,  
Charing-cross. MDCCLXII.

1762



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## ADVERTISEMENT.

**S**OON after this work was undertaken, Mr. Dupleix published his Memoire, wherein he falsely charged the English East India Company with usurpation of territory, and other arbitrary proceedings in the Indies. For this reason it was thought necessary to give at length the authentic grants from the court of Delli, as well to shew the true state of that extraordinary revolution at Surat, as to prove that the English have preserved a due regard to the ruling powers of the country, to justice and the law of nations. And as Mr. Dupleix has particularly laboured to prove that Mahomed Allee Cawn had no legal right to the government; the transactions at Sadrafs, in which his title had been fully examined and established, were printed at large at the

end of the work. It is sufficient that the proofs of this important question are to be found in the Quarto edition, by those who chuse to examine such papers, and it may be presumed that the generality of readers will be better pleased to see the present edition reduced, both in bulk and expence, by the omission of those parts which afford the least entertainment.

P R E-

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE importance and novelty of a subject, of which we have hitherto had imperfect and inaccurate accounts, induced me to seize every opportunity of making myself acquainted with the transactions in the East-Indies, by the perusal of authentic papers. The satisfaction I received from those I had already seen, excited an eager desire for further enquiry, and urged me to agree to any conditions under which I might be enabled to gratify my curiosity.

Nothing but a determination to write some account of India, could have entitled me to the sight of such materials as I have been favoured with, or have properly introduced me to the free conversation of the persons principally

pally concerned; which, as it has afforded me the greatest pleasure, as well as instruction, I ought never to mention without due acknowledgments. As I esteem it a singular honour to have been indulged so much beyond my expectation, by all whom I have taken the liberty to trouble on this occasion, I am bound to declare, that every person to whom I have applied, without exception, has given me full satisfaction in every point on which I had occasion to consult him, and has done it with the utmost politeness.

AFTER this, I need not dwell upon any further inducements to write; and yet the great reputation which the nation, and so many individuals have acquired in the East-Indies, has doubtless been another very inviting circumstance.

THERE had been two very partial accounts published by the French; and as Mr. Dupleix also in his MEMOIRE  
has

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has misrepresented many principal facts, it became necessary to state them in their true light.

THOUGH nothing appears more impertinent than the prefixing an account of a work to the book itself; yet, as it is usual with most people to form a false conception of things, and then to be displeased if they do not find the realities exactly conformable to the opinions they have entertained, it may in some cases be pardonable to endeavour to remove such prejudices.

It will not appear strange, that the generality of the world, through the habit of reading novels, and works of imagination, should expect from an history of the East (which has generally been made the scene of most of their ideal stories) a tale of adventures full of wonder and novelty, and nearly bordering upon romance. Neither are we to be surprised if others of a serious cast, having also, at the same time, an

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elegant turn of mind and a taste for ornament, should have expressed an expectation, and, perhaps, hinted their advice, that, in order to engage the attention of the reader, the work ought to be embellished with the strange manners of a remote people, the works of art and the wonders of nature in so very distant and different a climate from our own.

It is sufficient to say, in answer to this, that the work before us is not a history of India, nor of war in the interior parts of India, but of war on the coast; of war between two European nations, who have not, till very lately, had any connection with the governing people of the country. It has been entirely owing to the war, that an European has been allowed to have any kind of familiar commerce with them, or that the servants of the Company have been admitted to an acquaintance with their courts, the splendor of which has been greatly lessened by the war.

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The war alone has taught them the geography of the country a hundred miles round their settlements; and, within these few years, those who had been at Madura, which is about that distance, were as eagerly listened to when they returned to Madras, and their accounts were as new to all that heard them, as if they had come from Pekin: but it does not appear that those accounts were very amusing, or that they would afford any entertainment to make up for the interruption they would give to the thread of the history.

WHEN the design of the work is once explained, it will then best be seen whether it has been properly executed. The two things chiefly proposed by it were, first, to make the generality of the readers acquainted with the geography of the country, of which they have as yet very imperfect and confused notions; and, in the second place, to lay before the more informed,



formed, an exact, clear, and impartial state of facts, drawn entirely from authentic papers; by which they may judge for themselves, without comment or reflections to bias them, whether the civil and military officers of the English, or French East-India Company abroad, have acted with the most uprightness and bravery, in the course of the war, and the negotiations relative to it.

THIS being the real design of the work, every kind of decoration that was not necessary to illustrate facts would have diverted the attention of the reader from a close view of the conduct of the two nations, by which he is to form his judgment.

HAD these materials fallen into the hands of any person capable of rendering them more pleasing, by his superior taste in composition, and a happy elegance of stile, surely he would have employed those talents injudiciously,

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had he bestowed them on this work: for the greatest part of it (in order to support by authorities what is advanced as fact) is an assemblage of treaties, debates, grants, articles of war, and letters. These are here a necessary, but they are not a favourite part of any work: but there are two pieces that are the most valuable and essential to the whole. The siege of Fort St. George, which being a journal, must of course be dry; and colonel Lawrence's own narrative of his campaigns, which, though full of instruction, was written in a camp, with the soldier-like plainness which is the distinguishing character of that excellent officer.

It is now submitted to the public, whether it would have been proper to have given a different colour to the continuation of a narrative which had pleased all who had seen it, by its unaffected simplicity: and if, after what has been said, I shall be convicted of an error in judgment, it will neither  
surprize

surprize nor give me any concern, provided I am not proved to have made any essential mistake in matters of fact. And herein I flatter myself I cannot be greatly to blame, as I am certain that I have not put down any material circumstance without the authority of authentic papers, or without consulting with the several persons concerned, and examining most thoroughly every thing that has appeared dubious.

As I have taken so much pains not to give credit too hastily to any informations I may have received, I may be allowed to desire the reader will not too rashly give ear to such testimony as he may think will confute them; and particularly, that he will not suppose a man the better acquainted with facts for having been in India, unless he has been in that very part which was the scene of the transaction in question; for the several settlements being some as remote from others as England is from Turkey or Africa, the people on one coast

coast have sometimes no more knowledge of what is doing on the other, than we have at home.

It is also to be expected, that those who have been witnesses to any event which it has been thought proper to relate concisely, will be ready to impute that brevity to a want of information; when, at the same time, the European reader will think that very narrative too long, and the detail too minute and uninteresting.

I HAVE, therefore, in handling every new subject, endeavoured to confine myself to the most recent, as well as the most important events, alone; and have avoided going too far back in point of time, as that might occasion a confusion, by introducing a variety of persons, and a multiplicity of strange names; which would certainly give a heaviness, if not a ridicule to the whole.

THIS

THIS naturally leads to the mention of another difficulty.

THE Asiatic Monarchs are exceedingly fond of assuming new names, and frequently bestow them on others as a very serious and important favour ; and indeed they generally confer them engraved on a seal-ring, which exempts the wearer from all taxes, tolls, and imposts, where-ever he appears with it in the dominions of the Prince who bestows it.

By this means it often happens, that different persons have the same appellation, and that the same person is called by different names \*, which creates a confusion not always in the power of the writer to prevent ; since it is by no means proper to alter a name in the signature of original papers ; and yet,

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\* Eradmoodin Cawn being always mentioned in the French accounts by his other name Muzaphering, it was thought proper to alter his appellation throughout the Narrative.

when the reader sees the same person signing a different name from that which he is commonly distinguished by, he will be apt to think there is some mistake.

As it is impossible to find out any criterion to spell the Persian and Indian names by, since they are so variously pronounced and so differently written by persons of the same nation, I cannot pretend to be exact in this particular. The French having published an account of the war some years ago, many readers will have been habituated to see names of some of the principal persons spelt after their manner; therefore, for the sake of conformity, I have used the same consonants as I find employed by M. Dupleix and his countrymen; but as their vowels are pronounced so very differently from the English, I have, for the most part, altered them accordingly. The word which signifies a warrior, is written by the English jung, jing, or jenk; but as  
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the French, and particularly M. Dupleix, write it zing, I have done so likewise; for though many hold the other to be the true pronounciation, there are some who make it doubtful; especially when they say the word Gentoo, or Jentoo, might be spelt with a z \*; and it becomes the more a matter of indifference, when we call to mind the reciprocal letters of the Spaniards; who spell many words both with the x and j †, and give exactly

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\* IN like manner, Jemidar is very often spelt Zemidar.

† THE Spaniards, in their voyage to Peru, having occasion to mention our ship the Chichester, write it Sixter; and as we have most of our spellings of eastern words from foreigners, or inaccurate seamen and traders, it may be allowable to make some alterations; though, from the force of habit, some people will condemn those which are made upon the best reasons. The French having always been imitated by us in the spelling of Schah and Khan, tho' the words have for that reason often been pronounced wrong, the obvious spelling of these names with w, which helps to give the true sound to the vowel, will at first be thought a blameable singularity: to  
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the same found to the one as to the other.

I could hardly avoid saying thus much, on a subject very uninteresting in itself, and, possibly, tiresome to the generality of readers; I shall therefore pursue it no further.

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avoid a charge of that kind, I have not often deviated from the common spelling, but as it was necessary to do it sometimes, I have particularly taken care to alter such as might mislead the reader into the supposition of false etymologies, and give him erroneous ideas of things: as in the usual spelling of the word *Sea-poy*, which made it generally supposed, that the *Se-poys*, who are foot soldiers, were either sailors or marines.





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# G L O S S A R Y

O F

## PERSIC and INDIAN NAMES.

- BANG,                    **A**N intoxicating juice of a vegetable.
- BATTA,                An extraordinary allowance to the army when abroad in the field, or in any country where garrison provisions are scarce.
- BETEL,                A leaf, not unlike that of a kidney-bean; it grows on a vine exactly in the same manner; and is in great use, from the Prince to the beggar. They constantly chew it, mixed with Chinam and Betel-nut; for the Betel-leaf and the Betel-nut are from different plants. The farmers of Madraſs pay the Company from six to seven thousand pounds a year for the exclusive privilege of vending it.
- BRAMIN,              A priest.
- BUCKSHEE,            Treasurer to the Mogul.
- BUNDER,              A custom-house.
- CHINAM,              Fine slacked lime.
- CHOP,                A small seal, on which is engraved the name of the Mogul and the year of the hegira.
- CHOULTRY,            An open house for all travellers, the same as a Turkish caravanſerai. A bramin resides always in or near it.

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	to keep it clean, and to furnish travellers with water, &c. He is maintained by an endowment.
CHOUT,	Properly a fourth, but commonly used to express the tribute which the Marattas claim and raise on all the governments in India.
CIRCAR, or SIRCAR,	} A general name for the government, or persons concerned in the administration.
COFFREES,	(By the French called Cafres) is now become the general name for all negroes who are brought to India from the Cape, the coast of Guinea, or any other parts of Africa, and chiefly from Madagascar: they are brave and steady in the field.
COLLIERIES,	Inhabitants of the woods under the government of the Polygars.
COOLEY,	A labourer of any kind.
CROSS,	A little more than two miles.
COWLE,	A protection.
DOOLEY,	A woman's chair, somewhat like a sedan.
DURBAR,	The court of a Mogul Prince, or place where they meet in council.
DUSTUCK,	An order.
FIRMAN, or PHIRMAUND,	} A patent, or paper signed by the Mogul,
GENTOU, ZENTOO,	} Indians, Idolaters.
JAGEER, or JAQUEER,	} A territory or domain granted for a particular use, either to maintain a number of troops, or keep a fort in repair; and sometimes as a pension.
JEMIDAR, or ZEMIDAR,	} Officers of horse or foot, and sometimes people of rank employed about the persons of the great in the administration.
KILLEDAR,	A governor of a fort.
LACK,	Of roupees, about twelve thousand five hundred pounds.
MAUND,	A variable weight; at Bengal, seventy-

## G L O S S A R Y.

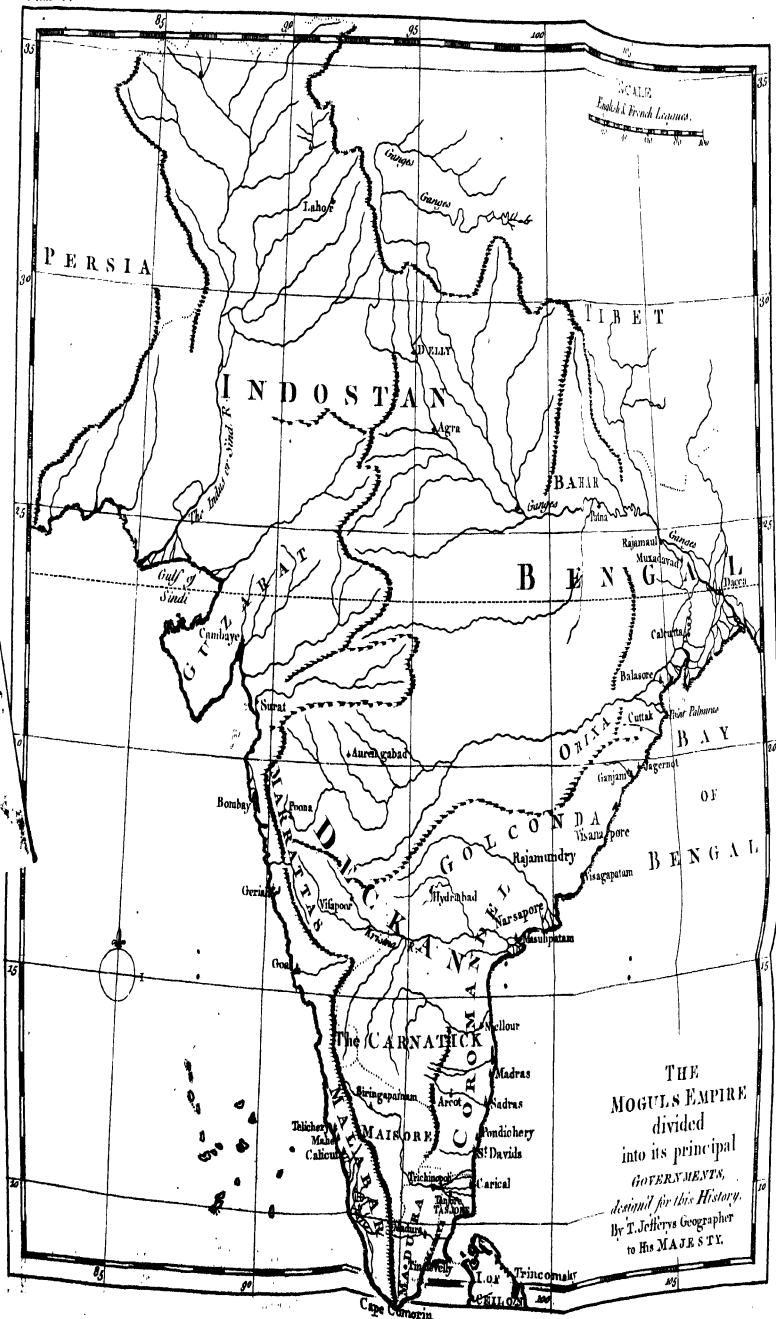
	<p>venty-six pounds; at Surat, thirty-seven pounds one half; in Persia, the Tabarcie Maund is only six pounds.</p> <p>The Mahometans improperly so called.</p> <p>A governor of a province, appointed by the Souba, or Viceroy.</p> <p>A deputy.</p> <p>Privy Counsellors, men of the first rank in the empire; they are under the Vizier, but are mostly concerned in all the revolutions of the state.</p> <p>Rice in the husk.</p> <p>An Indian temple.</p> <p>A coin paid by the Company at eight shillings, but intrinically worth seven shillings and eight pence.</p> <p>A bed, supported by a wooden or ivory frame of six feet long, and near three feet broad, fastened at each end with cross sticks to a bamboo fifteen feet long, which forms an arch over the pallankeen or bed, and is covered with a canopy of cloth lined with silk, and stiffened with ribs of the coconut tree.</p> <p>Any district of country.</p> <p>Worshippers of fire.</p> <p>A post or messenger sent from place to place.</p> <p>A name for the infantry of the Decan; they are armed with a broadsword, and sometimes with a matchlock.</p> <p>The town surrounding an Indian fort.</p> <p>A renter.</p> <p>Lord of a small territory.</p> <p>The highest title of the Gentoo princes.</p> <p>About two shillings and five pence.</p> <p>Commissions, or grants for particular countries.</p> <p>An officer of horse.</p> <p>Indian soldiers, which are entertained and disciplined by Europeans.</p>
MOORS,	
NABOB,	
NAIB,	
OMRAHS,	
PADDY,	
PAGODA,	
PAGODA,	
PALLANKEEN,	
PARAGANA,	
PARSEES,	
PATAMAR,	
PEONS,	
PETTAH,	
PHOUSDAR,	
POLYGAR,	
RAJA,	
ROUPEE,	
SANEDS,	
SARDAR,	
SEPOYS,	

## G L O S S A R Y.

SHROFF,	A money changer, or banker.
SIRPAH,	A rich dress of the country.
SOUEA,	Viceroy of one of the two great provinces.
TANK,	A pond, or pool of water.
TANKA,	The revenue appropriated by the Mogul for the maintenance of a fleet at Surat.
TOM TOMS,	Drums.
TOPASSES,	Black foot-soldiers, descended from Portuguese marrying natives, called Topasses because they wear hats.
VAKEEL,	An agent or minister for the Moors.

I N T R O-

Plate I.





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## INTRODUCTION.

**F**OR the better understanding any accounts of a country, with which the European reader is so little acquainted, it is necessary first to inform him of such particulars as serve to explain the transactions and events in the work before him.

IT is generally supposed, that the Peninsula within the Ganges is under the immediate government of the Mogul himself, and that the royal mandates from Delli are, according to the received notion of so arbitrary a dominion, obeyed in the most remote parts of the coast. This is so far from the truth, that a great part of that vast Peninsula never acknowledged any subjection to the throne of Delli, till the reign of Aurengzebe; and the revenues from those Indian Kings and Moorish governors, who were conquered or employed by him, have, since his death, been intercepted by the Viceroys, which his weaker successors have appointed for the government of the Peninsula: so that at this time neither can the tribute from the several potentates reach the Court of Delli, nor



the vigour of the government extend from the capital to those remote countries. And ever since the province of Indostan was ruined by Nadir Shaw, the weakness of the Mogul, and the policy and confirmed independency of the Viceroy have in a manner confined the influence of the government to its inland department.

LET it therefore be understood, that the Sovereign possesses a third only, and that the least valuable part, of his own vast empire. Bengal, the smallest, but most fertile province, is governed by a Viceroy. The other division, called the Deckan, extending from Balasore Jagonaut (or thereabouts, for the geography is certainly not settled) to Cape Comorin, is also delegated by the Mogul to another Viceroy, of exceeding great power, having within his jurisdiction seven large territories, to which he has the undisputed right of nominating seven Nabobs, or governors of provinces. In all parts of India there are still large districts, which have preserved, with the Gentoo religion, the old form of government under Indian Kings called Raja's. Such are Maissore, whose capital is Seringapatam, and Tanjore, whose capital is Tanjore. There are also among the woods and mountainous parts of the country several petty Princes, or heads of clans, distinguished by the name of Polygars. These are all tributary to the Nabobs, and those to the Viceroy, whose capital is Aurengabad. The Carnatick is that part of the Deckan which  
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comprehends the principal settlements of the Europeans, Madras, and Pondicherry, and also Arcot. To establish the government of the last named province, and to oppose the hostile intentions of Mr. Dupleix, the English East-India Company engaged in this war in support of Mahomet Allee Cawn.

As it is necessary, that the reader should be well acquainted with the geography of this country, without which he can never have any just notion of the government of it, the most accurate maps of particular spots have been procured, and distinctly engraved; and there is also prefixed an outline of the whole country unincumbered with the smaller divisions, and containing only the names of such places as are most frequently mentioned, in order to give at one view, a full idea of the whole empire of India within the Ganges, and to shew the consequence of the two great viceroyalties, compared with that of the principal seat of government.

THE chain of mountains which run through the peninsula from north to south, are the cause of an extraordinary phenomenon in natural history. The countries which are separated by these mountains, though under the same latitude, have their seasons and climate entirely different from each other; and while it is winter on one side of the hills, it is summer on the other side. On the coast of Malabar a south-west wind begins to blow from the sea at  
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the end of June, with continued rain, and rages against the coast for four months, during which time the weather is calm and serene on the coast of Coromandel; and towards the end of October, the rainy season, which they term the Change of the Monsoon, begins on the coast of Coromandel: at which time, the tempestuous winds bearing continually against a coast in which there are no good ports, make it so dangerous for the shipping to remain there, for the three ensuing months, that it is scarce ever attempted. This is the cause of the periodical return of our ships to Bombay, where there is a secure harbour, and convenient docks.

WHEN the reader has been made acquainted with so much of the geography of the country as is absolutely necessary for his understanding the nature of the government, it will be proper that he should be satisfied in regard to certain doubts and difficulties that will naturally arise in the perusal of the work.

WITHOUT a few previous explanations, he will never be able to conceive, by what means a handful of Europeans should appear so respectable in the field, when opposed to a multitude of Asiatics. As this is owing to a number of concurring circumstances, it will be requisite to give some account of such of their manners, habits, and prejudices, as may have a nearer or more remote influence on their military character.

NOTHING





Nothing appears a greater difficulty to the military men in this part of the world, than the possibility of subsisting such vast multitudes as the Asiatic armies frequently consist of, especially with so large a proportion of horse.

If it be matter of astonishment, that such numbers of fighting men are frequently brought into the field, how will it appear when it is added to the account that every horse-man has two servants, one to take care of his horse, the other to procure him forage, and that all these are accompanied by their wives and children, that there always follows the camp a moveable town of shops, where every thing is to be sold as in their cities; some hundreds of elephants for state only, and a train of women (with their numberless retinue) belonging to the Prince and the great officers. For wherever the Sovereign moves, he is more taken up with a vain ostentation of pomp and magnificence, than with the object of the war; and it is his pleasure that his subjects should abandon the capital in order to augment his numbers \*.

\* I took a view of the Leshkar, or Mogul's camp, which is one of the greatest wonders I ever beheld (and chiefly for that I saw it set up and finished in less than four hours) it being no less than twenty English miles in compass, the length someways three cossees (about seven miles) including the skirts: in the middle, where the streets are orderly, and tents joined, there are all sorts of shops, and so regularly disposed, that every man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each man of quality, and every trade being appointed how far from the King's tents they shall pitch, what ground they shall take up, and on what side, without

To

## INTRODUCTION.

To provide for all these, the whole country is put in motion, and the strictest orders are given for all provisions to be brought into the camp. By these means, all the cities far and near are exhausted, but the camp, for the most part, is plentifully supplied.

THE forage is procured in the following manner. Every horse-man is allowed a man

ever altering. All which, as it lies together, is almost equal to any town in Europe for greatness: but no man must approach the royal quarter, by a musket-shot every way, which is now so strictly observed, that none are admitted but by name: and the time of the durbar in the evening is omitted, and spent in hunting or hawking on pools by boats, in which the King takes wonderful delight, and his barges are removed on carts with him. *Sir Thomas Roe's Journal.*

In imitation of their Sovereign, and from the same motives of pride and vanity, the lesser Princes and Viceroys, affect the same magnificence in the splendor of their camps and the number of their followers. Those who were with Nazirzing in 1750, give the like description of his camp, being well assured that it exceeded twenty miles in circumference; but as for the numbers, there is no way of ascertaining them; therefore they only say, they were reported on the spot to have been 300,000 fighting men, and might possibly have been near 200,000; and the followers of the camp said to have exceeded a million, might possibly have amounted to half that number. Nazirzing's army being, at that time, in the heart of his own dominions, and undisturbed by marauders, was regularly supplied from all the neighbouring towns, which, by receiving ready money for their provisions, were enabled to pay the arrears of their revenues, so that the Viceroy maintained this amazing multitude by the collections and contributions which he raised in his march, without diminishing from the treasures which he always carried with him, and which served to fill twenty tents with gold and silver coin.

for the purpose, who is constantly employed in cutting turf, and washing the roots of it: and this is a more hearty food for a horse than grass. A shower of rain produces another crop in a few days time: and in case of continued dry weather, they move their camp to fresh ground \*.

MANY of the Indians abstain from all kinds of animal food, and the greatest part of them use rice, as their common and almost only sustenance: and as they have so great a veneration for cows, they are all prohibited by their religion, from killing any of that species; therefore there generally is a sufficient supply of beef for the Mahometan soldiery, and the small proportion of Europeans. But to lessen the surprise of the more exact calculator, it must be supposed, that these numerous armies seldom keep the field any time, without great loss by famine; for a very considerable diminution is

\* They also feed their horses in the rice fields, and where meat is plenty, they boil the offal to rags, and mixing it with butter and some sorts of grain, make balls of it, which they thrust down the horse's throat. In a scarcity of provisions, they give them opium, which has the same effect both on the horses and men, for at once it damps their appetites, and enables them to endure fatigue. The horses of the country, are naturally so exceedingly vicious, that they are not to be broke in the manage, and cannot be brought to act with the same regularity in the field as a squadron of European cavalry. The Persian horses being more gentle and docile, are greatly esteemed, and often valued at a thousand guineas. Those of India, sell for fifty or a hundred.

scarcely



scarcely felt, amongst such numbers, and very little regarded from any notions of humanity: a famine is, therefore, neither considered as any thing extraordinary, nor will the memory of it ever prevent the assemblage of another multitude, who must also be liable to the same chances of subsisting or starving, as accident shall determine. In like manner, allowance must be made for the great loss and damage they sustain in men, beasts, and all the implements of war, as often as they move in difficult roads and defilés \*, and particularly in their method of passing over great rivers. For their rivers, when they are not fordable, in the rainy season become torrents, being swelled to such a degree, that they are not to be passed but slantwise, the landing place being frequently above a mile below the place of embarkation, and heavy vessels, built of timber, could not be brought up against the stream to serve again.

THEY therefore make large boats of a kind of basket-work, which they cover with skins.

\* We marched every other day about four coffes only<sup>s</sup> with such a train of baggage, as was almost impossible to be kept in order; we passed through woods, and over mountains thick of bushes, where many camels perished; and many people tired with the difficulties of an impassable way, went away to Agra, and all complained. I lost my tents and carts, but by midnight we met again. The King rested two days; for the Laskars could not in less time recover their order; many of the King's women, and thousands of coaches, carts, and camels, lying in the woody mountains without meat or water. He himself got through on a small elephant that will climb up rocks, and pass such straits, that no horse or beast I have seen, can follow him. *Sir Thomas Roe's Journal.*

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As there must always be great plenty of hides in so numerous an army, they are easily made. They are very light and manageable, and yet will carry above fifty horse, and are capable of transporting the heaviest artillery.

It is owing entirely to an ignorance of the manners of the Asiatics, that many people imagine they can never be made soldiers. It may perhaps be shewn that they never will, whilst the same wretched government and abhorrence of innovation subsists: but those are greatly mistaken, who attribute their dread of fire arms, and particularly of artillery, to a dastardly disposition, and an invincible timidity.

THE true cause lies in the inexperience of their leading men, who never understood the advantages of discipline, and who have kept their infantry upon too low a footing. Their cavalry (which are, among them, very respectable, and also well paid) though not backward to engage with sabres, are extremely unwilling to bring their horses within the reach of our guns; so that they do not decline an engagement so much through fear for their lives, as for their fortunes, which are all laid out in the horse they ride on. As an instance of the affection they contract for so serviceable a creature, Morarow, the general of the Marattas, having had his favourite horse shot, mourned for him three days, after their manner, that is to say, was so long without his turban.

SUCH

SUCH of the natives as have been disciplined and encouraged by Europeans, and formed into a regular infantry, under officers of their own, and generally known by the name of sepoys, have familiarized themselves to fire arms, and behaved well behind walls; and when we give them serjeants to lead them on, they make no contemptible figure in the field.

NOTHING is so ruinous to their military affairs, as the false notion which is generally entertained among them, and chiefly by their commanders, in relation to artillery. They are terrified with that of the enemy, and foolishly put a confidence in their own, and what is the most fatal mistake, they place their chief dependance on the largest pieces, which they neither know how to manage nor move. They give them pompous and sounding names, as the Italians do to their guns, and have some pieces which carry a ball of fifty pounds. When we march round them with our light field pieces, and make it necessary to move those enormous weights, their bullocks, which are at best very untractable, if a shot comes among them, are quite ungovernable; and at the same time are so ill harnessed, that it causes no small delay to free the rest from any one that shall happen to be unruly or slain. .

IN war with the Asiatics alone, we have a much greater advantage in their being so very tenacious of their old manners, than in their want of bravery. Not only the Prince himself,  
but

but every Raja, who has the command of all the forces he can bring into the field, be they more or less, always appears among them mounted on an elephant, and is at once the general and ensign or standard of that corps, who keep their eyes constantly on him; and if they lose sight of him for a moment, conclude that all is lost. Thus we find, Aurengzebe gained two battles by the treachery of those who desired his two victorious brothers to get down from their elephants, mount their horses, and pursue the vanquished: their troops mistaking them, immediately dispersed. The same practice, continued to this day, affords our engineers a fair opportunity of deciding the fate of a whole detachment by one well directed discharge of a six pounder: and those enormous beasts, now seem to be brought into field for no other end but to be a mark for our artillery. It is said, they begin to see the danger of this practice, but surely that might have been found long since; for before the use of artillery, the general, thus distinguished, was in like manner exposed to the arrows of a whole army, and yet we always find them in the same perilous station. Porus is said to have been pierced with nine arrows, and to have sunk from his elephant with innumerable wounds. It should seem probable, that not merely their regard for antient manners, but the expediency of keeping their troops together by this signal, will induce them to continue the same method; the necessity of which will ap-

pear from the conduct and success of Aurengzebe, who, when he found his army giving way on every side, ordered chains to be fastened about the legs of his elephant, to convince them that he would not give the example of flight; and that those to whom his life was dear or interesting, could preserve it by no other means but firmly maintaining their ground. It may perhaps be a farther illustration of this practice, to shew the conformity of customs among remote and different barbarous nations, unskilled in the military science.

In the histories of America, we find Montezuma represented as performing no part of a general, but only sitting in an exalted stage on men's shoulders, and serving as a conspicuous standard to his troops.

To shew that they themselves are sensible of the danger of being thus exposed, they will sometimes avail themselves of the only device that can afford them any security. For it has been observed, that several elephants caparisoned alike, with riders in the same rich and splendid habits, have appeared in different parts of the field on the same day.

ANOTHER great obstacle to their success in war, is their superstition, and particularly their strict observance of lucky and unlucky days, which often prevents them from taking the most obvious advantages of an enemy.

BEING

BEING fond of all kinds of beasts of prey, they keep great numbers of them, and often visit them before they give battle; and if they find them heavy and dull, they think it a bad omen, and a reason sufficient to postpone their intended design of an action; and on the other hand, the accidental fury of the animal is regarded as a happy omen of success. They have also a custom of matching two wild beasts, most commonly elephants; and having given their own name to the one, and that of the enemy to the other, they bring them together to fight in presence of their army: but in this custom, they are not altogether to be condemned for superstitious folly, since they have the policy to make it a very unequal match, and to give their own name to the strongest.

THE art of influencing the vulgar to engage in any great undertaking, by the aid of these prejudices, is rare, where the chiefs are themselves also superstitious: but it frequently happens, that great obstacles are by these means thrown in their way, and many of their designs made to miscarry by artful people. In order to give an authentic representation of such practices, the following extract of a letter from colonel Lawrence, to the Governor of Fort St. George, is here inserted.

“ WE made one march nearer the enemy,  
 “ and intended to have posted ourselves this  
 “ day on the road between Wandewash and  
 b 2 “ Pon-

“ Pondicherry, but were prevented by the fol-  
 “ lowing unforeseen accident. For some days  
 “ past, the black people attending the camp,  
 “ have been very sickly, and some of them  
 “ died every day, and that by almost instantane-  
 “ ous deaths, owing partly to the season of  
 “ the year, and in some measure to bad water.  
 “ A Bramin, most probably employed by the  
 “ enemy, came into our camp, and by pre-  
 “ tending inspirations, he gathered about him  
 “ a crowd of Malabar people; these he threa-  
 “ tened with the vengeance of their gods if  
 “ they followed the camp, and very artfully in-  
 “ sinuated, that the present reigning sickness  
 “ amongst them, was a punishment inflicted  
 “ on them by their god, who was offended at  
 “ their remaining with the English. Upon  
 “ this, all the \* Cooleys deserted.”

BUT what is the greatest obstacle of all, to  
 their becoming a military people, is, that those  
 who have once had such success in the field, as  
 to obtain the name of Fortunate, being thereby  
 considered as invincible, and in consequence un-  
 molested for a time, are willing to save the  
 needless expence of an army. For this reason  
 there are few veterans, and most of their ar-  
 mies consist of an assemblage of various people  
 hastily brought together from different parts;  
 so that there can be no such thing as discipline,

\* Blacks who are hired to carry the baggage, and some-  
 times to draw the guns.

without

without which, numbers are but an impediment, and bravery ineffectual.

NOTWITHSTANDING they have so severely suffered by being surprized in the night by the Europeans; they can never be brought to establish either order or vigilance in their camp: and when they have acted with us as allies, the most earnest remonstrances could never prevail with them to be sufficiently upon their guard, when in the neighbourhood of the French, or to quit their ground in the morning, to co-operate with us in surprizing the enemy.

AT the close of the evening, every man eats an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after it some kind of soporific drugs; so that about mid-night, the whole army is in a dead sleep: the consequence of these habits is obvious; and yet it would appear a strange proposition to an Eastern Monarch, to endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of the meals of a common soldier: much less would he be prevailed on to restrain him in the use of that opium, which is to warm his blood for action, and animate his soul with heroism. It must fill the mind of an European soldier at once with compassion and contempt, to see a heap of these poor creatures, solely animated by a momentary-intoxication, crowded into a breach, and both in their garb and impotent fury, resembling a mob of frantic women.



THERE is certainly an appearance of effeminacy in the Eastern dress, which has at all times greatly contributed to lessen their military character with the European nations, who, from their own habits and prejudices, will naturally receive a strange impression, upon seeing a body of horse in silk or cotton robes. These last mentioned particulars are not insisted on as any part of the argument; the foregoing accounts will sufficiently demonstrate, that a nation under such circumstances, can never become a military people.

AND yet, there is no character they are so fond of as that of a warrior; and as they have no other notion of government, they have been, from time immemorial, continually at war with one another. They will still talk in a very high strain of their passion for military glory; and as the word *zing* (or *jung*) in their language, signifies a foldier, it will appear, by the frequency of that termination to most of the names mentioned in the following sheets, how generally they affect the honour of that title.

UPON this occasion, it would be great injustice to our commanders on the coast of Coromandel, not to observe, that they have always had to contend with a superior body of Europeans, conducted by leaders of experience and rank in the French army.

THUS far it has been requisite to relate such of the Asiatic manners, as may give some light  
to

to the accounts of their military operations; and it might perhaps be not altogether unpleasing to the reader, nor useless on this occasion, to relate some farther particulars of the Moors, who are the governing people of India, and particularly of the Mogul. To enter into a minute description of the customs of the Indians, though they were the original inhabitants (besides that Bernier, Thevenot, Tavernier, and others \*, have treated of them at large) is not the design of this work, and more particularly belongs to the commercial history of these countries. But for the illustration of the events of war, the manners of the † Moors who have usurped the government, are chiefly to be examined into.

It is extremely difficult to give any recent account of these Princes, as they are by custom proud, have a contempt for other nations, and admit no one to their courts, unless it be such as by any peculiar talent may happen to administer to the gratification of some present fancy, or to the relief of any disorder they may labour under. They have an implicit faith in

\* There is a very good account by Terry, chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, printed along with the English translation of Pietro de la Valle's travels to the Malabar coast.

† It is a great impropriety to call the Mahometan-usurpers of India by the name of Moors: and yet, as the writers of all nations have always given them that appellation, it would now be a greater impropriety to deviate from that usage.

## INTRODUCTION.

the abilities of the European physicians. It is owing to this opinion, that Bernier was enabled to give so ample and authentic an account of the life and manners of Aurengzebe. He travelled with him in his extraordinary journey to Cachemire, of which he has given a clear, comprehensive, and most entertaining journal. As Bernier's whole account of the Mogul Empire, is so full and instructive, it is much more proper to recommend the perusal of it to the reader, than to transcribe, as is too often the practice, from a book that is in every body's hands, and which is, throughout, full of use and entertainment.

BUT on the other hand, where there are books that, amidst a quantity of useless matter, have some few curious particulars; or when any scarce tract is either out of print, or only to be found among large collections; in such case, it may be allowable to give extracts of the most useful passages. The justness of the foregoing observation, will be shewn, if the majority of readers shall happen to be unacquainted with the journal of so eminent a person as Sir Thomas Roe, who was ambassador from James I. to the Mogul Jehan Guire. As no Englishman has lately had the opportunity of so familiar an intercourse with those Monarchs, the accounts given by him of the splendor of the Mogul, so greatly diminished of late years, with some particulars of his private life, may not improperly be here inserted: and it is to be remarked, that so strict is their attachment

ment to antient manners, that they never change their modes of life or fashions: and therefore whoever reads a description of them in any distant time, will have a most exact representation of their present manners.

Extract of a letter from Sir THOMAS ROE,  
to the Archbishop of Canterbury,  
dated Adsmere, January 29, 1615.

‘ THESE people have no written laws: the  
‘ King’s judgment binds; who sits and  
‘ gives sentence once a week with much pa-  
‘ tience, both in civil and criminal causes,  
‘ where sometimes he sees the execution done  
‘ by his elephants with too much delight in  
‘ blood.

‘ His governors of provinces rule by his fir-  
‘ mans, which are his letters or commissions  
‘ authorizing them, and take life and goods at  
‘ pleasure.

‘ IN revenue he doubtless exceeds either  
‘ Turk or Persian, or any eastern Prince; the  
‘ sums I dare not name: but the reason, all the  
‘ lands are his, no man has a foot. He main-  
‘ tains all that are not mechanics, by revenues  
‘ bestowed on them, reckoned by horses; and  
‘ the allowance of many is greater than the  
‘ estates of German Princes. All men rise to  
‘ greater and greater lordships as they advance  
‘ in

‘ in favour, which is got by frequent presents,  
 ‘ rich and rare. The Mogul is heir to all that  
 ‘ die, as well those that gained it by their in-  
 ‘ dustry, as merehants, &c. as those that live  
 ‘ by him. He takes all their money, only leav-  
 ‘ ing the widow and daughters what he pleases.  
 ‘ To the sons of those that die worth two or  
 ‘ three millions, he gives some small lordship to  
 ‘ begin the world anew. The King sits out  
 ‘ in three several places three times of the day,  
 ‘ except something extraordinary hinder him :  
 ‘ an hour at noon to see his elephants fight,  
 ‘ from four till five to entertain all comers, to  
 ‘ be seen and worshiped ; from nine till mid-  
 ‘ night amidst his principal men in more fa-  
 ‘ miliarity, being below among them.

‘ ALL the policy of his state is to keep the  
 ‘ greatest men about him, or to pay them as-  
 ‘ off liberally \*. There is no council, but  
 ‘ every officer gives the King his opinion  
 ‘ apart. He (meaning Jehan Guire, grandfa-  
 ‘ ther of Aurenzebe) is of countenance cheer-  
 ‘ ful, and not proud in nature, but only by ha-  
 ‘ bit and custom, for at night he is very affable  
 ‘ and full of gentle conversation.

‘ THE buildings are all base, of mud, one  
 ‘ story high. I know not by what policy the  
 ‘ King seeks the ruin of all the antient cities  
 ‘ which were nobly built, and now lie desolate  
 ‘ and in rubbish. His own houses are of stone,

\* And whether at home or abroad, to keep a great  
 number of spies continually about them.

‘ hand-

‘ handsome and uniform. His great men build  
 ‘ not, for want of inheritance, and as far as I  
 ‘ have yet seen, live in tents or houses worse  
 ‘ than our cottages.’

A letter of the same date from Sir THOMAS  
 ROE, to the East-India Company.

‘ AT my first audience, the Mogul prevent-  
 ‘ ed me in speech, bidding me welcome as to  
 ‘ the brother of the King my master : and after  
 ‘ many compliments, I delivered his Majesty’s  
 ‘ letter, with a copy of it in Persian : then I  
 ‘ shewed my commission, and delivered your  
 ‘ presents, that is, the coach, the virginals,  
 ‘ the knives, a scarf embroidered, and a sword  
 ‘ of my own. He, sitting in his state, could  
 ‘ not well see the coach, but sent many to  
 ‘ view it, and caused the musician to play on  
 ‘ the virginals, which gave him content. At  
 ‘ night, having staid the coachman and musi-  
 ‘ cian, he came down into a court, got into the  
 ‘ coach, and into every corner of it, causing it  
 ‘ to be drawn about. Then he sent to me,  
 ‘ though it was ten o’clock at night, for a ser-  
 ‘ vant to put on his scarf and sword after the  
 ‘ English fashion, of which he was so proud,  
 ‘ that he walked up and down flourishing it,  
 ‘ and has never since been seen without it. But  
 ‘ after the English were come away, he asked  
 ‘ the Jesuit, whether the King of England  
 ‘ was a great King, that sent presents of so small  
 ‘ value, and that he looked for some jewels.

‘ THERE

‘ THERE is nothing more welcome here, nor  
 ‘ did I ever see men so fond of drink, as the  
 ‘ King and Prince are of red wine, whereof  
 ‘ the governor of Surat sent up some bottles,  
 ‘ and the King has ever since solicited for more :  
 ‘ I think four or five casks of that wine  
 ‘ will be more welcome than the richest jewels  
 ‘ in Cheapside.’

Extracts from Sir THOMAS ROE’s Journal.

‘ THE King having been far gone over night  
 ‘ in wine, some, however accidentally or maliciously,  
 ‘ spoke of the last merry night, and  
 ‘ that many of the nobility drank wine, which  
 ‘ none must do without leave. The King forgetting  
 ‘ his order, asked who gave it, and  
 ‘ answer was made the Buckshee; for no man  
 ‘ dares say it was the King when he makes a  
 ‘ doubt of it. The custom is, that when the  
 ‘ King drinks, which is alone, sometimes he  
 ‘ will command the nobility to drink after  
 ‘ him, which if they do not, it is looked upon  
 ‘ as a crime: and so every man that takes a  
 ‘ cup of wine of the officer, has his name  
 ‘ writ down, and he makes his obeisance, tho’  
 ‘ perhaps the King’s eyes are clouded. The  
 ‘ King not remembering his own command,  
 ‘ called the Buckshee, and asked whether he  
 ‘ gave the order, who falsely denied it, for he  
 ‘ had it from the King, and by name called all  
 ‘ that drank with the Ambassador. The King  
 ‘ then called for the list, and the persons nam-  
 ‘ ed

‘ ed in it, and fined some one, some two, and  
 ‘ some three thousand roupees; and some that  
 ‘ were nearer his person, he caused to be whip-  
 ‘ ped before him, they receiving a hundred  
 ‘ and thirty stripes with a terrible instrument,  
 ‘ having at the ends of four cords, irons like  
 ‘ spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four  
 ‘ wounds. When they lay for dead on the  
 ‘ ground, he commanded the standers-by to  
 ‘ spurn them, and after that, the porters to  
 ‘ break their staves on them. Thus most cru-  
 ‘ elly mangled and bruised they were carried  
 ‘ out: one of them died on the spot, some  
 ‘ would have excused it by laying it on the  
 ‘ Ambassador, but the King replied he only or-  
 ‘ dered a cup or two to be given him. Drunk-  
 ‘ enness is a common vice, and an exercise of  
 ‘ the King’s, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that  
 ‘ no man can enter the Guzelcan when the  
 ‘ King sits, but the porters smell his breath,  
 ‘ and if he have but tasted wine, he is not suf-  
 ‘ fered to come in, and if the reason of his ab-  
 ‘ sence be but known, it will be a difficult  
 ‘ matter to escape the whip: for if the King  
 ‘ once takes offence, the father will not speak  
 ‘ for the son.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ THE second of September was the King’s  
 ‘ birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On  
 ‘ this day the King is weighed against some  
 ‘ jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and  
 ‘ silk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things,  
 ‘ of every sort a little, which is all given to the  
 ‘ Bramins.



‘ HE was so rich in jewels, that I own in  
 ‘ my life I never saw such inestimable wealth  
 ‘ together. The time was spent in bringing  
 ‘ his greatest elephants before him; some of  
 ‘ which being lord-elephants, had their chains,  
 ‘ bells and furniture of gold and silver, with  
 ‘ many gilt banners and flags carried about  
 ‘ them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on  
 ‘ each of them, cloathed in gold, silk, and  
 ‘ silver.

‘ In this manner about twelve companies  
 ‘ passed by most richly adorned, the first hav-  
 ‘ ing all the plates on his head and breast set  
 ‘ with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of  
 ‘ wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bow-  
 ‘ ed down before the King, making their re-  
 ‘ verence very handsomely: this was the finest  
 ‘ show of beasts I ever saw.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I FOUND the Mogul sitting on his throne,  
 ‘ and a beggar at his feet, a poor silly old man,  
 ‘ all ragged and patched. The country abounds  
 ‘ in this sort of professed poor holy men;  
 ‘ they are called Fakeers\*, and held in great

\* There are few books of voyages among the Turks or  
 Indians which do not make mention of the Fakeers or Jo-  
 guies. The former is a Turkish word, and signifies poor,  
 the latter is the Indian name for these extraordinary saints,  
 for such they are esteemed, and are called Santos at Cairo,  
 and in many other parts. It is well known that the veneration  
 paid to the numerous body of these worthless and insolent  
 beggars, is owing to the opinion of extraordinary sanctity  
 which a few of this sect acquire by the performance of  
 certain singular and fantastical vows. Some have made a

‘ vene-

‘ veneration : and in works of mortification and  
 ‘ voluntary suffering, they out-do all that ever  
 ‘ has been pretended either by hereticks or ido-  
 ‘ lators. This miserable wretch cloathed in  
 ‘ rags, crowned with feathers, and covered  
 ‘ with ashes, his Majesty talked with about an  
 ‘ hour so familiarly, and with such seeming  
 ‘ kindness, that it must needs argue an humi-  
 ‘ lity not found easily among Kings. The  
 ‘ beggar sat, which the King’s son dares not do.  
 ‘ He gave the King a present of a cake mixed  
 ‘ with ashes, burnt on the coals, and made by  
 ‘ himself of coarse grain, which the King  
 ‘ willingly accepted, broke a bit and eat it,  
 ‘ which a nice person could scarce have done ;  
 ‘ then he took the clout that wrapped it up,  
 ‘ and put it into the poor man’s bosom, and  
 ‘ sent for a hundred roupees, and with his own  
 ‘ hand poured them into the poor man’s lap,  
 ‘ and gathered up for him what fell besides.  
 ‘ When his collation or banquet, and drink  
 ‘ came, whatsoever he took to eat he broke and  
 ‘ gave the beggar half ; and rising, after many  
 ‘ humiliations and charities, the old wretch not  
 ‘ being nimble, he took him up in his arms,  
 ‘ though no cleanly person durst have touched

vow to hold their arms above their head till they contract  
 a stiffness, and can never be moved : others to keep their  
 hands clenched till their nails grow through them : others  
 to sit in chairs full of sharp nails, to drag a heavy chain, to  
 carry vast weights about their necks, or fire on their heads.  
 Some years ago one of these made a vow to measure the  
 length of the whole empire with his own body ; and at this  
 time there is a Fakeer who every day rolls himself round the  
 rock at Trichinopoly, which is a mile in circumference.

‘ him, and embracing him three times, laying  
 ‘ his hand upon his heart, and calling him fa-  
 ‘ ther, left him and all of us in admiration.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ WHILE the King appeared at the window,  
 ‘ two eunuchs stood on two tressels with long  
 ‘ poles, and feather-fans at the end of them,  
 ‘ fanning him. He bestowed many favours,  
 ‘ and received presents. At one side in a win-  
 ‘ dow were his two principal wives, whose cu-  
 ‘ riosity made them break little holes in a grate  
 ‘ of reed that hung before it, to gaze on me: I  
 ‘ saw first their fingers, and then, they laying  
 ‘ their face close, first the one and then the  
 ‘ other, I could sometimes discern their full  
 ‘ proportion. They were indifferently white,  
 ‘ with black hair smoothed up: but if there  
 ‘ had been no other light, their diamonds and  
 ‘ pearls had sufficed to show them. When I  
 ‘ looked up they retired, and were so merry,  
 ‘ that I supposed they laughed at me. On a  
 ‘ sudden the King rose, we retired to the Dur-  
 ‘ bar, and sat on the carpets, attending his  
 ‘ coming out. Not long after he came and sat  
 ‘ about half an hour, till his ladies at their  
 ‘ door had mounted their elephants, which  
 ‘ were about fifty, all of them richly adorned,  
 ‘ but chiefly with turrets on their backs, all  
 ‘ enclosed with grates of gold wire to look  
 ‘ through, and canopies over of cloth of silver.  
 ‘ Then the King came down the stairs with  
 ‘ such an acclamation of health to the King,  
 ‘ as would have out roared cannon. At the  
 ‘ foot of the stairs, where I met him, and  
 ‘ shuffled

‘ shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty  
‘ carp, another a dish of white stuff like  
‘ starch, into which he put his finger, and  
‘ touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his  
‘ forehead: a ceremony used presaging good  
‘ fortune. Then another came and girt on  
‘ his sword, and hung on his buckler, set all  
‘ over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of  
‘ gold suitable: another hung on his quiver  
‘ with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case,  
‘ being the same that was presented by the  
‘ Persian Ambassador. On his head he wore a  
‘ rich turban, with a plume of heron’s fea-  
‘ thers, not many, but long: on the one  
‘ side a ruby unset as big as a walnut, on the  
‘ other side a diamond as large; in the middle  
‘ an emerald much bigger. His staff was wound  
‘ about with a chain of great pearl, rubies and  
‘ diamonds drilled. About his neck he wore  
‘ a chain of three strings of most excellent  
‘ pearl, the largest I ever saw. Above his el-  
‘ bows, armlets set with diamonds, and on his  
‘ wrists, three rows of several sorts; his hands  
‘ bare, but almost on every finger a ring: his  
‘ gloves, which were English, stuck under his  
‘ girdle. His coat of cloath of gold without  
‘ sleeves, upon a fine semian as thin as lawn.  
‘ On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered  
‘ with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up.  
‘ Thus armed and accoutred, he went to the  
‘ coach that attended him with his new Eng-  
‘ lish servant, who was cloathed as rich as any  
‘ player, and more gaudy, and had broke four  
‘ horses, which were trapped and harnessed in  
‘ gold

‘ gold and velvets. This was the first coach he  
‘ ever sat in, made by that sent out of England;  
‘ and so like, that I knew it not but by the co-  
‘ ver, which was a Persian gold velvet. He  
‘ sat at the end, and on each side went two  
‘ eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold  
‘ set all over with rubies, with a long bunch  
‘ of horse-tail to flap the flies away. Before  
‘ him went drums, base trumpets, and loud  
‘ musick; many canopies, umbrellas, and other  
‘ strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloath  
‘ of gold, set in many places with rubies.  
‘ Nine led horses, the furniture all garnished,  
‘ some with pearls and emeralds, some only  
‘ with studs enamelled. The Persian Amba-  
‘ sador presented him a horse. Next behind  
‘ came three palankeens, the carriages and feet  
‘ of one-plated with gold, set at the ends with  
‘ stones, and covered with crimson velvet, em-  
‘ broidered with pearl, and fringes of great  
‘ pearl, hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border  
‘ about it set with rubies and emeralds: and a  
‘ footman carried a footstool of gold set with  
‘ stones. The other two palankeens were co-  
‘ vered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next  
‘ followed the English coach newly covered  
‘ and richly adorned, which he had given to  
‘ Queen Nourmahal, who sat in it. After  
‘ them a third, in which sat his youngest sons.  
‘ Then followed above twenty elephants royal,  
‘ led for him to mount, so rich in stones and  
‘ furniture that they glittered like the sun.  
‘ Every elephant had sundry flags of cloth of  
‘ silver, gilt sattin and taffety. His noblemen  
‘ he

## INTRODUCTION.

li

he suffered to walk on foot, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carried half a mile behind him.

‘ WHEN he came before the door, where was his eldest son kept prisoner, he stayed the coach, and called for him. He came and made reverence, with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard grown to his middle, a sign of disfavour. The King commanded him to mount one of the spare elephants, and so rode next to him, with extraordinary applause and joy of all men, who are now filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thousand roupees to cast to the people. His jailor, Afaph Chan, and all those monsters, were yet on foot: I took horse to avoid the croud and other inconveniences, and crossed out of the Leshkar before him, waiting till he came near his tents. He passed all the way between a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his back, and on the four corners of each, four banners of yellow taffety, and right before a piece of cannon carrying a bullet as big as a tennis-ball, the gunner behind it. They were in all about three hundred. Other elephants of state went before, and behind, about six hundred, all of which were covered with velvet, or cloth of gold, and had two or three gilded banners: several footmen ran along the way with skins of water to lay the dust before the King. No horse or man was suffered to come

' within two furlongs of the coach, except those  
 ' that walked by on foot; so that I hastened to  
 ' his tents to attend his alighting. They were  
 ' walled in about half an English mile in com-  
 ' pass, in form of a fort, with several angles  
 ' and bulwarks, and high curtains of a coarse  
 ' stuff made like arras, red on the outside,  
 ' and within figures in panes, with a handsome  
 ' gatehouse; every post that bore these up was  
 ' headed with brass. The throng was great: I  
 ' had a mind to go in, but no one was permit-  
 ' ted, the greatest in the land sitting at the door;  
 ' however I made an offer, and they admitted  
 ' me, but refused the Persian Ambassador. In  
 ' the midst of this court was a throne of mo-  
 ' ther of pearl, borne on two pillars raised on  
 ' earth, covered over with a high tent, the pole  
 ' headed with a knob of gold: under that,  
 ' canopies of cloth of gold, and under foot  
 ' carpets. When the King entered, every man  
 ' cried joy and good fortune, and so we took  
 ' our places. He called for water, washed his  
 ' hands, and departed.

\* \* \* \* \*

' WITHIN this inclosure were about thirty  
 ' divisions with tents. All the noblemen re-  
 ' tired to theirs, which were in excellent forms,  
 ' some all white, some green, some mixed, all  
 ' inclosed as orderly as any house, in the most  
 ' magnificent manner I ever saw. The vale  
 ' showed like a beautiful city, for the baggage  
 ' made no confusion; I was ill provided with  
 ' carriages, and ashamed of my equipage; for  
 ' five

‘ five years allowance would not have provided  
 ‘ me an indifferent tent answerable to others;  
 ‘ and to add to the grandeur, every man has  
 ‘ two, so that one of them goes before to the  
 ‘ next ground, and is set up a day before the  
 ‘ King rises from the place where he is.’

THOUGH Sir Thomas Roe represents the pride of the Mogul as scarcely supportable to an Englishman, yet that Ambassador appears to have been favoured in a very extraordinary manner. The extreme disregard which the Asiatic Sovereigns naturally have for Europeans, is fully set forth in the following extract from M. de Buffy’s letter published in Mr. Dupleix’s Memoire. It is a just and most authentic picture of the haughty demeanor and assuming arrogance of those people, and will prove what has been advanced of the very little intercourse we could have had with them.

*Extract of a letter from M. de Buffy.*

‘ To form a true judgment of the advantageous change in the affairs of the French in India, we must go back to those times when they were obliged, for the interest of their commerce, in a servile manner to carry their presents, and pay their homage to those petty chiefs whom we do not at present deign to admit to our Durbar, except when some particular interest requires it. I speak not of distant times, this change is within these six years. It was no longer ago that the Nabob  
 ‘ of



## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

‘ of Arcot, inconsiderable as he is in regard to  
 ‘ the Souba of the Deckan, for he is but a far-  
 ‘ mer of his revenues, behaved to us as a so-  
 ‘ vereign to his subjects. His letter to our go-  
 ‘ vernors ran in a strain of authority opprobri-  
 ‘ ous to the French nation. We never appear-  
 ‘ ed before him but as suppliants carrying pre-  
 ‘ sents, which he continually exacted from us.  
 ‘ If any even of his inferior officers came to-  
 ‘ wards Pondicherry, formal deputations were  
 ‘ sent out to meet them with the greatest marks  
 ‘ of respect. The utmost care was taken to  
 ‘ avoid giving offence to those petty tyrants,  
 ‘ whose resentment might have prejudiced our  
 ‘ commerce.

‘ For a Souba of the Deckan to condescend  
 ‘ to write to the commandant general of the  
 ‘ French, was a thing unheard of, and not to  
 ‘ be expected. When Nizam al Mulk, father  
 ‘ of the reigning Souba, came into the pro-  
 ‘ vince of Arcot to retake Trichinopoly from  
 ‘ the Marattas, the European nations strove  
 ‘ who should give him the strongest marks of  
 ‘ their submission, and omitted no means of  
 ‘ gaining his favour: yet he deigned not to  
 ‘ write to any of the governors who represent-  
 ‘ ed those nations, and hardly honoured with a  
 ‘ look the rich presents laid with all imagina-  
 ‘ ble respect at his feet, as a token of their ho-  
 ‘ mage and dependence.

‘ WHAT were the bounds of the Company’s  
 ‘ establishments before the expedition which  
 ‘ has

## INTRODUCTION.

iv

has taken me up these four years? Pondicherry, Carical, and Chandernagore, were the whole of their extent: those bounds could not be passed without submission and presents, to obtain leave from the farmers of the revenue.' \* \* \* \*

It is evident from this letter, how few Europeans have of late been acquainted with the interior parts of the country. But M. de Buffy, by accompanying Salabatzing in all his motions, and some of our own countrymen, from their intimate and familiar intercourse with the governing people in Bengal, have had all advantages of information; and it was from a certain knowledge, that the most ample and instructive materials for this purpose had been provided in the country; and were now actually in England, that I desisted from the design I had once entertained of entering on the affairs of Bengal. Besides, I had not engaged in any part of this work many weeks, before there appeared some Memoirs of the Revolutions in Bengal, published by a person principally concerned in them, which anticipated my purpose of giving a slight view of those affairs: and whenever the public shall be favoured by those who are so capable and so well prepared thoroughly to explain not only the secret springs of the great events and revolutions, but also the civil, commercial, and natural history of Bengal, it will appear how much more properly the history of that province is left to those who had a personal share in the  
trans-

## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

transactions, and had themselves seen and considered the state of the country. If, contrary to my apprehension, the same reasoning ought to have deterred me from attempting the relation of the war in the other parts of India, it will give me great pleasure to see the history of the Coast of Coromandel also laid before the public in a manner more worthy their attention.

C O L O N E L





# THE SEAT OF WAR on the Coast OF CHOROMANDEL.

By Thomas Jefferys,  
Geographer, to his  
MAJESTY.

## EXPLANATION.

City or considerable place	Indian Temples	Residence of French or English Garrison	Residence of a Peshwa, or Indian Prince	Coastal town or fishing place
Indian Temples	Residence of French or English Garrison	Residence of a Peshwa, or Indian Prince	Coastal town or fishing place	
Residence of French or English Garrison	Residence of a Peshwa, or Indian Prince	Coastal town or fishing place		
Residence of a Peshwa, or Indian Prince	Coastal town or fishing place			
Coastal town or fishing place				

SECTION OF DISTANCES AS OBSERVED BY ASTRONOMERS.

P. Pondicherry	P. Pondicherry
Latitude 11° 56' 20"	11° 55' 00"
Longitude 78° 00' 00"	77° 25' 00"

P. Pondicherry is followed in this map.

Scale of Distances as observed by Astronomers.  
English Miles 0 to 100  
French Miles 0 to 100

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COLONEL LAWRENCE'S  
NARRATIVE of the WAR,  
ON THE COAST OF  
COROMANDEL,

From the Beginning of the Troubles to the  
Year 1754.

THE authority of the Nabob Mahomet <sup>1730.</sup>  
Allee Cawn having been disputed by the French, was the first cause of the war. I shall endeavour to shew how he founded his right, and with what justice the French supported his competitors. I shall trace it from the year 1730, as the different appointments, made since that time by the viceroys of the Deckan, have a necessary connection with many parts of this narrative, and lead to a knowledge of the persons principally concerned in this scene of troubles.

THE Subba or viceroy of the Deckan, in the year 1730, was called Nizam Almuluck. According to his right of nominating a Governor of the Carnatick, now more generally known by the name of the Nabob of Arcot, he appointed Sadet Allee  
B Cawn,

1730. Cawn, who was succeeded by his nephew Deuft Allee Cawn, who governed in the year 1740.

CHUNDA SAIB, a man of no family or riches, but endowed by nature with talents, and a capacity that made ample amends for what fortune had denied him, had the command of a small district of country, and could bring about an hundred horse into the field. He served under Deuft Allee Cawn, to whom his genius soon made him known, and so useful, that he advanced him, and married him to one of his daughters.

THE kingdom of Trichinopoly was then under the Gentou government. The king dying, left no children, and appointed his brother's son to succeed. The dowager queen, supported by her two brothers, put in a claim to the regency, till her eldest brother's son was of a fit age to reign. There was a third party formed, by a relation of the deceased king, who demanded the throne as his right, and brought a large army to support his pretensions. The king's party was soon thrown out of the competition, and the dispute continued between the queen and the king's relations. The queen applied to the Nabob of Arcot, and he came to her assistance, and with him Chunda Saib, as his general, who managed affairs so well, that, having weaken'd both, he formed a stronger party for himself, and waited with patience till his scheme was ripe for execution. Under pretence of a visit to the queen, he introduced himself and some troops into the town, got possession of it, put to death all the different competitors, plundered and imprisoned the queen, who, finding no resource left, poisoned herself; first burning the alcoran on which Chunda Saib had sworn that his only views in this visit were to shew marks of respect and regard.

Thus the government of the kingdom of Trichinopoly was changed in 1738, and still continues under the Nabob of Arcot; and is commonly given to one of his nearest relations. 1738.

IN the year 1740, the Marattas invaded Arcot, and overthrew Deust Allee Cawn in a battle which cost him his life. His son, Subter Allee Cawn, on his father's death, fled to Madras, and there obtained the protection of Mr. Benyon, then governor. Soon after he received a grant from Nizam Almuluck, appointing him Nabob of Arcot; but, in the year 1744, he was treacherously murdered, at a feast made by his brother-in-law Moottis Allee Cawn, at Velloure, a strong fort, twelve miles from Arcot.

COZA ABDALLAH CAWN succeeded him; and was himself, shortly after, succeeded by Anaverdy Cawn, our present Nabob's father, who was appointed, by the viceroy of the Deckan, Nabob of Arcot, in the year 1745.

CHUNDA SAIB remained at Trichinopoly till the year 1741, when the Marattas came a second time into the country, besieged the town, got possession of it, and took him prisoner. He was carried to Sattaarah, the Marattas' capital, and there confined till 1748; the year in which Nizam Almuluck died.

NIZAM ALMULUCK left four sons, Gauzedy Cawn, Nazirzing, Salabatzing, and Nizam Allee.

THOUGH the succession in this country is not hereditary, yet it commonly runs in the same family, especially when the survivors have power to make good their pretensions, and money to secure the



1748. the Mogul's appointment. Gauzedy Cawn; the eldest son, was then Bucshee, or paymaster-general to the Mogul, the second man in power, next to the Vizier, in this mighty empire. He having perhaps more ambitious views, refused the vice-royalty of the Deckan, but made over his interest to the second son Nazirzing, who was appointed by the Mogul Shaw Hamet.

NIZAM ALMULUCK had also a nephew, Eradmoodin Cawn, commonly called Muzapherzing, who, on his uncle's death, laid claim to the Carnatick, founded, as he said, on a promise from his uncle. But Nazirzing refused his consent, and confirmed Anaverdy Cawn, agreeable to his father's appointment. On this refusal, Muzapherzing declared he would support his pretensions by open force. His first step was to go to Sattaarah, and apply to Ballazerow, chief of the Marattas, for assistance. There he saw Chunda Saib, who still remained prisoner. Muzapherzing engaged to get him released, and Chunda Saib, on his side, promised to go to Pondicherry, and influence Mr. Dupleix to assist and support him in his cause. The Maratta chief consented to every thing, and promised his assistance. He kept his word in regard to the releasing of Chunda Saib, but sent no troops. Chunda Saib set out for Pondicherry, in 1748, and Muzapherzing prepared to raise an army.

CHUNDA SAIB succeeded, made some presents, and promised much more; and, when Muzapherzing was ready, they were joined by six hundred French, and a train of artillery. In July 1749, they marched for Arcot, and there encountered Anaverdy Cawn, who lost the victory and his life. His eldest son, Mauphus Cawn, was taken prisoner, and his second son, Mahomed Allee Cawn, the

the present Nabob, made the best of his way to his government of Trichinopoly, waiting there for an opportunity to revenge his father's death. The victorious army pursued the blow, took Arcot, and over ran the whole province. They afterwards returned to Pondicherry, where Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib Nabob of Arcot. 1749.

THEY remained quiet at Pondichery, till Admiral Boscawen sailed for Europe, not daring to move till he was out of sight. The day after, October 21, 1749, they took the field, and raised contributions all over the country. The king of Tanjore, having refused to acknowledge Muzapherzing, or Chunda Saib, they marched and laid siege to his capital. The French were commanded by Mr. Law, nephew of the famous Mississippi Law. They soon made a breach, but the troops within seeming determined to defend it, they were afraid to venture an assault. By protracting the siege, the people in the town were reduced to their last barrel of powder,; but, however, they saved the place, by compounding for some lacks of roupies in ready money, and a bill for seventy-five lacks more. The enemy raised the siege, but, after one day's march, the French army returned, and insisted on a sum of money for themselves, alledging that they had not received any part of what was paid. However, it was to no purpose, for the king of Tanjore, having received in that time a reinforcement of Sepoys and gunners, and a large quantity of powder from Trichinopoly, refused to give any more. Still the breach remained open, which the French would not attack. In the mean time certain accounts came of Nazirzing's march from Aurengabad towards Arcot, in order to punish Muzapherzing, and Chunda Saib, for their rebellion. This obliged them to raise the siege a second time in

1750. good earnest, and return to Pondichery. This passed in January 1750.

EVER since Anaverdy Cawn's defeat, his son, Mahomed Allee Cawn, had desired our assistance. It was necessary to put a stop to the progress of the French, whether in justice to assist the lawful prince against rebels, or as an act of self-defence, and to prevent an increase of power in an oppressive neighbour, that must, at last, have proved our ruin. This determined us to protect the Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn, till we could know Nazirzing's determination: Captain Cope was therefore sent from Fort St. George with a detachment to Trichinopoly.

NAZIRZING had given orders to the Nabob to join him on his march, in obedience to which he set out from Trichinopoly, at the head of a large army of horse, and the English detachment commanded by captain Cope, and joined Nazirzing at Waldore, in February 1750. As it is customary amongst all Eastern princes to make presents on the first visit, when the Nabob waited on Nazirzing, he asked him what he had brought: the Nabob took captain Cope by the hand, and, presenting him, said he had brought that gentleman and the assistance of the English nation. Nazirzing was pleased with the answer, conferred some honours on Captain Cope, and, a few days after, appointed Mahomed Allee Cawn to succeed his father, as Nabob of Arcot and Trichinopoly.

MUZAPHERZING and Chunda Saib marched out of Pondichery with their army, and two thousand Europeans commanded by Mr. D'Auteuil, with a large train of artillery, and a numerous body of Sepoys. they took post within a few miles of Nazirzing, at whose earnest and repeated request, I  
marched


marched from Fort St. George with six hundred men, accompanied with Mr. Westcott, one of the council, with a commission to treat with Nazirzing, in which we were assisted by Captain Dalton. 1750.

WE joined him at Villanoure, and were very graciously received, suitable to the dignity of an Eastern Prince, at the head of three hundred thousand men, of which he declared me Generalissimo. He proposed to me to attack the enemy immediately: I told him, in the Eastern stile, that he must be sure of victory wherever he fought, yet the attack might be attended with some difficulty, and cost him the lives of many brave men, as the enemy were strongly posted \*, and had with them a large train of artillery. But that, if he pleased to march between them and Pondichery, he might, by cutting off their communication, oblige them to fight at a greater disadvantage.

HOWEVER just my proposal might be, his answer was as follows: What! shall the great Nazirzing, the son of Nizam al Mulk, even for an advantage, seem to retreat before so despicable an enemy? No, he would march and attack them in front. I told him he might do as he pleased, I was ready to support him.

THE two armies were so near, that the next day we cannonaded, and were drawn out to engage.

\* The French were entrenched, and had 20 pieces of cannon. Nazirzing had 800; but his principal officer of artillery was an Irishman, for the natives, in general, think every European an engineer. I happened to find fault with this gentleman's disposition of his artillery, which was in a hollow, where his cannon were hid. He gravely replied, "What, did I think him mad, or foolish enough, to expose his Excellency's cannon, by placing it on a rising ground?"

1750.  In this situation, a messenger came to me from Mr. D'Auteuil, to acquaint me, " That although " we were engaged in different causes, yet it was " not his design nor inclination, that any Euro- " pean blood should be spilt ; but as he did not " know our post, should any of his shot come that " way, and hurt the English, he could not be " blamed." I sent him for answer, " That I had " the honour of carrying the English colours on " my flag-gun, which if he pleased to look out " for, he might know from thence where the Eng- " lish were posted ;" and I assured him, I should also be very loth to spill European blood ; but, if any shot came that way, he might be assured I would return them.

To know, I suppose, whether I was in earnest, a shot was fired from their battery over our heads : I ordered three guns to answer it, and saw them well pointed. Mr. D'Auteuil seeing us resolved not to look tamely on, and probably fearing the success of an action, thought it more prudent to retreat in the night. Lest his heavy artillery should retard him, for the greater expedition, he left eleven pieces behind ; and what was worse, part of his artillery-men with them, the better to conceal his design ; for he gave out, he was only going to alarm our camp in the night, and would be back in the morning.

NAZIRZING having immediate notice of his retreat, soon routed Muzapherzing's and Chunda Saib's forces ; fell in with the unfortunate French gunners left behind as a sacrifice, and cut most of them to pieces. We saved as many as we could, taking them by force out of the hands of the Moors, got their wounds dressed by our surgeons, and took all the care of them that humanity required of us.

In

In return, Mr. Dupleix wrote a long protest against me, for making French subjects prisoners in time of peace; but the poor fellows, more sensible of the obligations they were under to us, very gratefully acknowledged our tender usage, and confessed it was entirely owing to us that they were saved. 1750.

THE same night a large detachment of Marattas from Nazirzing's camp, commanded by Morarow\*, were sent in pursuit of Mr. D'Auteuil. They came up with him the next day. Mr. D'Auteuil formed his men into a square. Morarow attacked and broke it with only fifteen men, imagining his whole party in his rear; but seeing his danger, he with that handful, when surrounded, boldly pushed for it; and breaking through the opposite side, cleared his way with six men, having lost nine in the attack.

ON the retreat of the French, and their army being dispersed, Muzapherzing submitted, and implored the mercy of Nazirzing, who received him into his camp, and detained him as a state prisoner; but Chunda Saib, whose sole dependance was on Mr. Dupleix, continued obstinate, and retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Muzapherzing's submission, as will shortly appear, was only politick; and, that he might be nearer at hand, to concert a scheme, which in a few months was put

\* Morarow, whose name often occurs in this narrative, is a Maratta, who by supporting the divisions in the country, has made himself considerable from a small beginning; he sides with no party but as he finds his advantage in it, and as easily changes sides; he commands about three thousand very good horse. When he is not employed or paid by any prince, he scours the country for himself, and raises contributions where he can get most, and with least risque. His real master is the Nanah Shaw Raja; but he obeys his orders just as they are conducive to his own interest.

1750. in execution, at the expence of the Viceroy's life.  
 The consequence of the victory was the retaking of Arcot, which again acknowledged its lawful master.

MR. DUPLEIX, after this disgrace, wrote a long letter to Nazirzing, which he would not open or read but in our presence. Though he pretended submission to the viceroy, he had still the presumption to dictate to him, and insist, that none of the family of Anaverdy Cawn should ever govern the province of Arcot. Ambassadors came also to treat publicly, for an accommodation, but their real business was, privately to concert measures with Shanavas Cawn, Nazirzing's prime minister, and the \* chiefs of the conspiracy, which was first laid in Pondichery by Chunda Saib and Mr. Dupleix, who promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, as it plainly appeared afterwards. Though this was carried on with great secrecy, I had information that some design was on foot against Nazirzing, and that Shanavas Cawn was principally concerned in it. I therefore desired my interpreter to acquaint Nazirzing with what I had heard, and in particular with what concerned his prime minister. But so great were the apprehensions of the person we employed as linguist, that he did not dare to say what I directed him, nor accuse a person in such high favour and power as Shanavas Cawn, who was present, so much did he dread his resentment, which I plainly discovered from the answers I re-

\* The two principals of which were the Nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore. These Nabobs are under the viceroy of the Deckan; their Country is in the Subaship of Golconda; they have in their pay numbers of Patans, who are reckoned the best soldiers amongst these eastern moors: as the policy of this ill-ruled empire requires frequent assassinations, these Patans are esteemed very useful in that kind of villany.

ceived from Nazirzing, and the confusion of the interpreter.

1750.

PART of our instructions to Nazirzing were, to obtain an enlargement of our bounds round Madras, which he frequently promised, and certainly intended to perform, had not his minister, who was in an opposite interest, contrived to disappoint us, by delaying and putting us off from time to time. Seeing ourselves only amused, we pressed our demands with more earnestness, and Nazirzing promised we should be immediately satisfied; but desired we would march with him to Arcot, a proposal we could by no means consent to, as it would have left our settlements and frontier bounds exposed to the insults of two thousand French, and Chunda Saib, who at this time was raising another army. We also endeavoured to make him sensible, that his march to Arcot removed him too far from his enemies, who were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to renew the troubles. That it was easy for him, by staying where he was, to finish the business effectually, and to distress his enemies, by cutting off their communication with the country, and thereby oblige them to accept of whatever terms he would please to offer them. But the more we urged against his march to Arcot, the more his favourite pressed him to it. Our removal from him was the great object of the party, that had resolved his ruin.

FINDING all our endeavours were of no weight against a determined scheme, we marched to our settlements, and Nazirzing to Arcot, where, lulled into a security, by what he was willing to look upon as a victory, he gave himself up entirely to the pleasures he was fondest of, women and hunting. Nothing was omitted by the faction to amuse him,



1750. him, and take off his attention from business, or whatever might lead to a discovery of the designs which were carrying on against him.

THE detachment commanded by Morarow, sent in pursuit of the French, when they retreated from Nazirzing, encamped near Pondicherry, with their usual carelessness. The French attacked them in the night, when they little expected, and were as little prepared for an enemy, and easily put them to the rout, killed a great many, and got possession of their camp and baggage. This success animated the French, and they once more took the field with Chunda Saib, and marched for Trividy, a fortified pagoda, situated about sixteen miles west of Fort St. David, which being garrisoned only by country troops, they soon got possession of it.

THE Nabob, Mahomet-Allee Cawn, who had attended Nazirzing to Arcot, and was constantly pressing him to return to the charge, desired a party from the army, to oppose and punish the French, and Chunda Saib: and at the same time applied to the English for a body of Europeans, and a train of artillery. Captain Cope therefore, with four hundred of the military, and a body of sepoy, marched to his assistance; and in conjunction they moved towards the enemy. I should at that time have taken the field myself, but the chair becoming vacant by the removal of Mr. Floyer, I was obliged to take the government till Mr. Saunders, who was appointed to succeed, could come from Vizagapatam, and soon after his arrival, I embarked for England.

THE Nabob had agreed to pay the whole expence of our troops in the field; but a large present to Nazirzing for his commission having exhausted his treasury, instead of money we got only trifling excuses,

cuses, with which he put us off from day to day, 1750. till at last the expences falling entirely upon us, and the Nabob, for want of magazines and money, being unable to march his army between the French and Pondicherry, Captain Cope had orders to return.

THE very next night after, the French and Chunda Saib attacked the Nabob in his camp. It could not be called a battle, but a rout; the troops, instead of fighting, running away in small parties, every thing fell into the victor's hands; even the Nabob, with difficulty, made his escape, almost singly, and unattended, to Nazirzing.

THE enemy did not remain idle, but followed the blow; and partly by threats, partly by fair promises, got possession of Gingee, a place exceeding strong by nature, and not ill fortified, according to the eastern manner. They took care to secure their new conquest by a strong garrison, supporting it well with artillery and ammunition.

NAZIRZING, roused from his lethargy by the loss of Gingee, and reflecting on its consequences, immediately marched from Arcot to take that important place, declaring he would succeed, or never return. Muzapherzing and his faction now thought it a proper time to put their schemes in execution; Nazirzing with his army surrounded Gingee; the French, and Chunda Saib were encamped under the walls.

NOTHING now was wanting but to strike the blow, which was concerted in the following manner. The French were to attack that part of the camp which the Nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore occupied, and their troops had instructions to make

1750. no resistance. The Nabobs had engaged on their part to assassinate Nazirzing at his first appearance, on the alarm. The attack was no sooner begun, but the two Nabobs made directly for Nazirzing's tent, and meeting him as he came out, they entreated him to mount his elephant and punish the rebels. The unfortunate prince was disposing himself to follow their advice, when the stroke was given, the one stabbing him with a poinard, while the other shot him with a pistol. His head was severed from his body, fixed on a spear, and brought to Muzapherzing, who being immediately released, and mounted on the late Souba's elephant, was proclaimed through the camp Viceroy of the Deckan. Little or no resistance was made any where, for so general was the consternation, that every body thought of saving themselves, not knowing who were friends or enemies, nor how to oppose a succession they so little expected. The French pushed their way to Nazirzing's tents, where was found an immense treasure in money and jewels, by which many made their fortunes, but none so largely as Mr. Dupleix, a fortune, by all accounts, not to be equalled at that time, by any subject in Europe.

To perpetuate the memory of this famous victory, which the French had boasted of as superior to any thing of the kind recorded in history, Mr. Dupleix, near the place where the massacre was committed, caused a town to be built, called Dupleix Fateabat, the place of victory; and to record the share the French had in it, a pillar now lies at Pondicherry, designed to be erected in the market-place, with a pompous Latin inscription, giving an account of the engagement, and the French valour. Unluckily future ages will not be the wiser for it; for captain Clive, a year after, in retaking the Arcot

count-

country, burnt the town, and destroyed the monument on which the pillar was to have been erected. 1751.

THE victorious army returned to Pondicherry in January 1751, with a most sumptuous train of the princes of the Deckan, and divided the spoil. Muzapherzing declared Chunda Saib Nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies, and associated Mr. Dupleix in the government with himself. On this Mr. Dupleix assumed the state and formalities of an eastern prince. He held his Durbar in the palace at Pondicherry, and suffered neither the natives, nor his own countrymen to approach him without a present after the eastern manner; he mounted his elephant, and was proclaimed Nabob. Mahomed Allee Cawn escaping with the utmost difficulty, and without attendants, made the best of his way to Trichinopoly, notwithstanding the great search made to seize his person.

It was agreed at Pondicherry, that Chunda Saib should raise an army, and assisted by the French, endeavour to make good his appointment to the government of Arcot under Mr. Dupleix: that Muzapherzing should march with the late Nazirzing's army to Aurengabad, the usual residence of the princes of the Deckan; accompanied by Mr. Buffy, at the head of six hundred French, three thousand sepoys, and a large train of artillery. They began their march the beginning of 1751, and on the road the two Nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore, jealous of Muzapherzing and the power of the French, and not thinking themselves sufficiently rewarded, upon various pretexts fomented a quarrel, till at length they proceeded to farther outrages, which produced an engagement. The Patans advanced to attack the French, but were unable to stand the cannonade. After they were obliged to retire, they fell upon

Muza-

1751. Muzapherzing's flank, routed his troops, and in some measure revenged Nazirzing, in the death of his successor, the chief of the conspirators. A great many of the Patans were killed, and amongst the rest the Nabob of Condanore.

THE next day, the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, Souba or viceroy of the Deckan, though there was a strong party for the son of Muzapherzing. At this time the troubles at the court of Delly, prevented the Mogul from settling the affairs of the Deckan; he only made an appointment of Gawzedy Cawn to the government, and resolved to support him with an army, when the state of his affairs would permit. The new prince sent \* Saneds to Mahomed Allee Cawn in the month of March, confirming him Nabob of Arcot.

UPON the death of Nazirzing, captain Cope was again sent in January 1751, with a strong detachment, to support the Nabob in Trichinopoly, after an offer made to Chunda Saib and his allies, of the quiet possession of the whole province, except that fort and its dependencies.

CHUNDA SAIB and the French treated this proposal with the highest contempt, and immediately raised troops and took the field. We collected about five hundred men from all our garrisons, and sent them under the command of captain de Gingins to observe their motions, who finding their intentions were for Trichinopoly, moved that way also; and at the same time, a party from that garrison, of about an hundred and ten men, marched to meet captain De Gingins, followed by what troops the Nabob

\* Commissions or grants,

could raise, commanded by his brother Abdiel Vahob Cawn. The first party met captain De Gingins at Verdachilum, and from thence the army moved in conjunction to Volconda, where they were also joined by the Nabob's forces, amounting in the whole to about two thousand horse, three thousand sepoy, and six hundred Europeans. 1751.

VOLCONDA is a considerable town, about forty-five miles from Trichinopoly, in the road to Arcot. The governor at first seeming in our interest, amused us for two days, with promises to deliver up the fort; but soon after Chunda Saib and the French appearing, he threw off the mask, and declared against us. The next night we attacked the fort without success, and the army, after some loss, was obliged to retreat to Outatour, seventeen miles from Trichinopoly.

THE enemy's army, consisting of about six thousand horse, four thousand sepoy, and six hundred Europeans, followed our army to Outatour, and encouraged by the success of an ambuscade, in which some of our men fell, by following too closely a party of Chunda Saib's horse, they attacked our camp, but were repulsed: however, not thinking our post tenable, should the enemy repeat their attack, we retreated to the banks of the Coleroon, facing Trichinopoly. Chunda Saib's army increasing daily, our people thought themselves obliged also to quit that post, and to cross the river to the island opposite Trichinopoly. The enemy still following, we abandoned that post, and passing the river Cauvery the 17th of July, we encamped under the walls of Trichinopoly.

CHUNDA SAIB and the French immediately took possession of our post, and raised some batteries against

1751. against the town, from across the river; but finding the distance too great, even for a shot at almost its greatest range, they left a party to secure Seringam Pagodas, and crossing the river, encamped on the plain on the east side of the town, at the French Rock, and there contented themselves with cannonading and throwing in some shells.

THE Nabob beginning then to be in want of men and money, applied to the King of Maissore, who supplied him indeed with both, but in small parties, and smaller sums at a time, the common way of doing business in this country. Thus remained affairs at Trichinopoly, the enemy contenting themselves with a useless cannonade, which however they adorned with all the terms of the most regular siege; and we waiting for our promised reinforcement, encamped under the walls of the fort, to keep our communication as open as possible.

THE French bringing almost their whole force into the field with Chunda Saib, and leaving Arcot but poorly defended, a scheme was laid to reduce part of that country to the Nabob's obedience. Captain Clive commanded the party. This expedition was attended with uncommon success, which some people were pleased to term fortunate, and lucky; but, in my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved, and might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out. A man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and a presence of mind, which never left him in the greatest danger. Born a soldier, for without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led an army like an experienced officer, and a brave soldier, with a  
prudence

prudence that certainly warranted success. This young man's early genius surprised and engaged my attention, as well before as at the siege of Davencottah, where he behaved in courage and judgment, much beyond what could have been expected from his years, and his success afterwards confirmed what I had said to many people concerning him. 1751.

CAPTAIN Clive, in the month of August, having joined a detachment of our army at Trichinopoly, was soon recalled for the intended expedition; and being arrived at Madras, he marched with three hundred Europeans, and about five hundred seapoys. His officers were chiefly Writers, or other servants of the company, never before employed in a military capacity; and yet, with this force, he surprised and took Arcot, the capital of the province, on the first of September. The French, truly sensible of this disgrace, and knowing the importance of the place, concerted measures to retake it, and collected all the men they could spare under Raja Saib, son to Chunda Saib, who, with a large detachment from his father's army, marched and invested Arcot the 23d of September. During the siege, which lasted two months, they dismounted two eighteen-pounders. Upon which Mr. Clive wrote the governor of Madras word, that he was mounting the last eighteen-pounder he had left, but that he had still three months provisions, and thought himself able to defend a breach whenever the enemy should make an assault. A party was detached from the army at Trichinopoly to support him, on notice of whose approach, the enemy resolved to make their last effort; they attacked the breach, and the fort, in three different places; at every attack they were beat off with considerable loss, and captain Clive



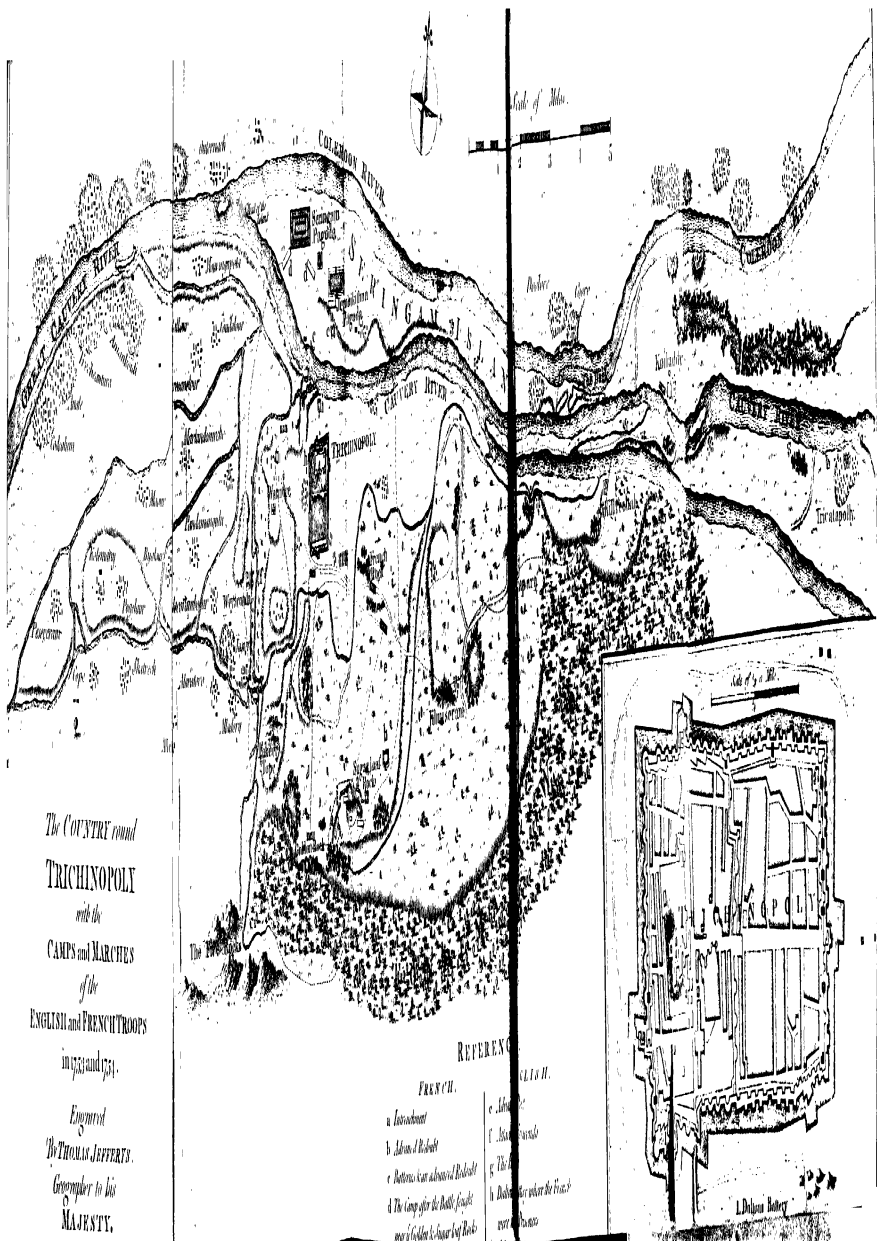
1751. taking advantage of their confusion, sallied out, and following the blow, took all their cannon, levelled their trenches, and returned to the fort.

THE party by this time came up, as also a detachment of Maratta's commanded by Budgerow, a brother of Morarow, which enabled captain Clive to take the field. He marched out of Arcot in search of the French and Chunda Saib's son, never giving them time to rest, but pursuing his good fortune, he took the forts of Timery, Cauvery-pauk, Aranie and Conjeveram, and compleated it by a total defeat of the enemy at Cauvery-pauk, in the month of March 1752. Their army was entirely destroyed, and Raja Saib obliged to take shelter in Pondichery, where M. Dupleix refused to see him. By this victory, a large part of the Arcot country was recovered for the Nabob.

BEFORE we enter on the affairs of Trichinopoly, the chief scene of our military operations, it will be requisite that the reader should be well informed of the singular circumstances of the Plain in which it is situated, by comparing the following description with the accurate map annexed, the importance of the posts, and other objects contended for, will be readily conceived and understood.

TRICHINOPOLY is situated on a plain, which was once crowded with rich villages and plantations of trees, but since the war, hardly a trace of either is left. The town is in form of an oblong square, the longest sides of which are East and west. On the North runs the river Cauvery, less than half a mile from the fort. The town was formerly no more than a wall round the foot of a rock, in circumference about twelve hundred yards. As the





the inhabitants increased, the town was augmented to half of the present oblong, with a cross wall, the traces of which still remain; the third augmentation was made to the southward, and incloses the town as it now stands. It is at present four miles in circumference, with a double encinte of walls with round towers at equal distances, according to the Eastern method of fortifying. The ditch is near thirty feet wide, but not half so deep; and at different seasons it is more or less supplied with water, but never quite dry. The outward wall is built of a grayish stone, each stone from four to five feet long, and all laid endways. It is about eighteen feet high, and four or five thick, without parapet or rampe, nothing but a single structure of stone, and is very properly called a wall: the other is more properly a rampart. The distance between them is about twenty-five feet, the height of the rampart thirty. The rampe is equal in thickness at bottom with the height of the rampart, thirty feet, decreasing in thickness like the profile in the margin. The terre plein of the parapet is about ten feet, and the parapet is, for the most part, seven or eight feet high, covering the men entirely, with loop holes to fire through. Some bastions have been constructed by us, as regular and good, as the ground would admit of, built on the foundations of the round towers. They are mostly on the angles of the square, and on the West face, about the middle of the curtain called Dalton's battery, even with the outward wall. The town is very well supplied from the river, by water courses which direct the water into large square ponds or tanks that have communication by aqueducts.

1751.



A MOST extraordinary rock stands in the middle of the old town, and is about three hundred feet high

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1751. high; on the top of it is a pagoda, which was of singular use to us the whole war; its height commanding even as far as Tanjore, which is forty miles. Here was constantly stationed a man with a telescope, who gave us by signals and writing, an account of all the enemy's motions. The buildings on this rock, and those which are cut out on the sides of it are very surprising works, in a country, where they have so few tools to facilitate their labour.

THE soil on the East and West sides, for two miles round, and on the North side, as far as the river is rich and good, but does not run deep. After digging a foot or two you find it rocky, and to the South side, there is so little mould that it will not admit of cultivation; but every other part, in time of peace, produces rice in great plenty. The plain runs in length from east to west about nineteen miles; from the boundaries of the Tanjore kingdom, to the head of the island westerly. Its breadth is unequal, from seven to twelve miles. On the north it is bounded by the river Cauvery, and on the south by Tondeman's woods.

THE different rocks, whose situation and distance are described on the map, afford very good posts for an army, either as advanced ones, or to cover a flank. The plain, though seemingly level, is full of hollow ways, sufficient to conceal or cover troops; and gives a person who is thoroughly acquainted with the ground, great advantages. Water is always to be had on the plain, by sinking wells, and in some places it is collected in basins, either formed by nature or art. This element is so great and useful a blessing in this country, that no pains are spared in saving and keeping all that falls. However, the water on the plain

is very unwholesome, as standing waters generally are; besides, it is so impregnated with salt-petre, 1751. with which the earth abounds, that in some places it is too brackish to be drank, and most commonly occasions bilious disorders.

THE island of Seringam is formed about six miles north west of Trichinopoly, by the river Cauvery, which divides itself into two branches. That to the northward takes the name of the Coleroon, that to the southward preserves its old name the Cauvery. Each of these rivers, after a course of about ninety miles, empty themselves into the sea. The Coleroon at Davecotah, the Cauvery near Tranquebar, at about twenty miles distance from each other.

THIS island, fifteen miles east of Trichinopoly, is so narrow, that both the rivers would rejoin in the same channel, were they not prevented by a high bank, which keeps them asunder. This bank was made at a great expence, and is constantly kept in repair, by the kings of Tanjore. The use of it is to direct the course of the river Cauvery through that kingdom, by the means of water courses and canals, which distribute it into proper channels all over the country, and are the source of riches and fertility. The river, by its natural course, waters the north side of the kingdom, and by a large channel which they have made near the bank, the southern side receives also a sufficient quantity of that useful element, without which, in this part of the world, there can be no fertility.

THE bank is about seven feet wide at top; it rises from the foundation with a slope on each side. This bank is as strong as wood, stone, earth, and straw can make it, and sufficient to support, and

1751. confine the currents on each side. Its height from the common level of the water, is near twenty feet, to which the river can never rise; so that there is no danger of an inundation. It is about a mile in length; afterwards the land naturally widening, there need no more precautions to prevent the rivers from joining. A number of people are constantly employed, to see that the water makes no encroachments, and if it does to apply a remedy immediately. The repairs each year are paid by a general tax on the country, which amounts to about twenty thousand pounds annually. The bank forms on the island, what I have called, the Pals; and by its position and situation it will appear how capable it is of defence, with a small number of men, even against an army. Above a mile distant from it, to the east, was a fort called Koi-laddv, which being built for the preservation of the bank, was destroyed by the enemy, about the time we last marched to Tanjore. The enemy had often threatened to cut the bank if the king would not comply with their measures; at last they carried their threats into execution in the year 1754; but luckily at a season when it was least detrimental, for in three months, with our assistance, it was repaired. However, the damage in that little space of time, and the cost of repairing it, amounted to fifty thousand pounds; from whence may be seen how easily the masters of that bank may give law to the King of Tanjore; and how much it is his interest to be a friend to the Nabob of Trichinopoly, to whom he is obliged to pay tribute for the bank, three lack of rupees yearly. In this island, facing Trichinopoly, stand the famous Pagodas of Seringam; some others, but not so remarkable, called Jembukhaa, are at half a mile distance to the east. Seringam is little more than a mile distant from Trichinopoly. The Pagodas are surrounded

rounded by seven square walls of stone; each wall has a gateway in the middle of each side of the square, pointing to one of the four cardinal points. The gateways are ornamented in the manner of that country, with crouded emblematical figures of their divinities. The principal gateway in the outward wall, which faces Trichinopoly, is a curious piece of arch tecture, though yet unfinished. It is formed by pillars thirty-two feet high in the shaft, with capitals. Four of these pillars are of one stone each, but the largest stones are those which are laid across the top of the gateway; they measure thirty-three feet long, and five and an half one way, and four feet ten inches the other. The space between the outward and second walls measures three hundred and ten feet, and so proportionably between the rest. No Europeans are admitted into the last square, it being the Sanctum Sanctorum, and few have gone farther than the third.

SERINGAM was the post occupied by the enemy all the war; once indeed they suffered by taking shelter there, but that was owing to our having the Marattas on our side, and a sufficient number of troops to cut off their communication, and for want of provisions, obliging them to surrender. We never since had the fortune to be equal to them, much less superior, and by that means it has proved a sure refuge to them on many occasions, and we have never had it in our power to dispossess them, since the Maissoreans took possession, in consequence of their agreement with the Nabob. It is an excellent post for an army that can keep their communication open. The ground about is so full of difficulties, by hollow ways, and water courses, that a besieging army must run the hazard of losing a great many men before they can carry their point. Jembikishna has but a single enceinte of wall,



1751. wall, and nothing remarkable but its magnitude and  
 { vicinity to Seringam.

ADJOINING to Trichinopoly is the kingdom of Tanjore, bounded on the north by the Coleroon, on the east by the sea, on the south by two countries which belong to two powerful Poligars, the one called Marravar, the other Tondeman, and on the west by Trichinopoly. The boundaries commence at fourteen miles distance from the fort last mentioned. Near the mouth of the Coleroon, we have a fort called Davecotah, which once belonged to the kingdom of Tanjore, but was taken by us while I commanded in the year 1749. The possession of this has enabled us to support the Nabob and king of Tanjore, who is well pleased with its being in our hands, and has therefore granted it to the company, with some territory annexed. The next settlement on the coast, given also by the king of Tanjore, belongs to the Danes, and is called Tranquebar. Next to that, the French have one called Carrical; and to the southward of it the Dutch have another, called Negapatam. Thirty miles from thence is a place called Adriapatam, which finishes the territories of the king of Tanjore along the sea coast. The distance of the first, Davecotah, from the last is about ninety miles, which is the broadest part of his kingdom. It decreaseth by degrees in breadth, and near Trichinopoly is thirty, or at most forty miles wide. Its length from the west to the sea is about an hundred miles. The revenues of this small kingdom, well managed, may produce near a million yearly. The king was a friend to us and the Nabob the whole war; that is, he found it his interest to be so, because he knew well the French and Maissoreans wanted nothing less than his country, and we found it much our interest to keep him our friend. His

country was the only communication we had left with the coast; for since the Maissoreans and Marattas had joined the French, they were masters on the north side of the Coleroon. What confirmed him the more in our int'ret, was the just fear he had, that if the Maissoreans were once masters of Trichinopoly, they would willingly extend their dominions to the sea, and his kingdom was too easy and beneficial a conquest to remain long unattempted: besides, he hated the French since their setting up Chunda Saib, and laying siege to his capital. 1751.

AT Trichinopoly we were in daily expectation of the king of Maissore's troops, who marched out of Seringapatam, the capital of the Maissore kingdom, to a place called Carroor, about fifty miles from Trichinopoly. The King of Maissore, besides his own proper forces, had also engaged Morarow and his Marattas to come to our assistance. Twelve hundred of these joined us in November, and another party, as I have already said, were with captain Clive in the Arcot province. The Nabob's brother and a party of Europeans marched to hasten the junction of the Maissoreans. Thus ended the year 1751.

IN January we were joined by another party of Marattas, and four thousand Maissore horse, besides three thousand irregular troops called Collieres, who live on plunder, and are notorious thieves, particularly for stealing of horses, in the practice of which they are both daring and expert. They creep along the woods with a spear, eighteen or twenty feet long, trailing on the ground, which they manage on occasion with great dexterity. They are troublesome in the field by giving frequent alarms, and in their woody country it is dangerous to attack them. 1752.

1752. THE Maiffore general (commonly called the Dolaway) Nanderauze, had not yet joined us with the remainder of the army. The enemy had sent a party on his road, who took post in a village, by which he was obliged to pass. We sent another party to dislodge them, commanded by captain Cope. Our first attack was unsuccessful, partly owing to captain Cope being mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, and our having been misinformed as to the enemy's strength and number. However, the party being reinforced, we carried our point. Nanderauze and Morarow, with about two thousand horse, joined us the 26th of the month, and our party returned the 28th with the rest of the army.

THE King of Tanjore, after many solicitations, sent also his troops under the command of his general Monagee; and Tondeman came likewise in to our assistance.

IN this situation were affairs when I landed from England the 15th of March; captain Clive was then just ready with a party to march to Trichinopoly. On the 17th I joined him, and took the command. The party consisted of four hundred Europeans, and eleven hundred seapoys.

THE situation of our affairs made it highly requisite to hasten the march with all expedition; fatal spirit of division having unhappily crept in amongst our officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of our conduct.

ON the 27th of the same month, being arrived within eighteen miles of Trichinopoly, I was met by the commanding officer of artillery, who brought  
me

me intelligence that the enemy had posted a strong party at Koiladdy, within cannon-shot of the road I was to pass the next day. 1752.

IN order to join the army as soon as possible, I dispatched my guides to find out another road, judging it of consequence to avoid the enemy's post, especially as I had a very large quantity of ammunition and stores, part of which I laid up in Tricatapolly, a fort belonging to the King of Tanjore, that it might not retard my march the next day.

By some mistake of my guide, we were led within reach of the very post I wanted to avoid. To draw off the fire of their battery from my party, I ordered some guns from my rear division to answer theirs, and leaving a guard to support them, the main body were directed to move on slowly, inclining to the left, which, with a small loss, brought us out of reach of their guns: upon which we halted till the party and guns came up. We then continued our march without interruption, and encamped that night within ten miles of Trichinopoly.

THE next morning we were joined on our march by the troops, and about two hundred soldiers, commanded by the captains Clarke and Dalton, within four miles of Trichinopoly. Captain De Gingsins sent his adjutant to inform me, that the whole of the enemy was in motion towards me. Their right was at their incampment of Chucklepollam, a village on the banks of the river Cauvery, and facing the pass: their left extended almost to the French Rock, a strong post in their possession. Their cavalry was on the left of their infantry, extending all the way to Elmiseram, another

1752.

ther very strong post on an inaccessible rock, on which they had mounted some large cannon. As I had no intention to engage, till my entire junction was made, and till I had lodged my stores in the fort, I marched round Elmisferam, purposing to come in by the Sugar-loaf Rock. Our baggage on the left flank was secured by the march of the army, which kept moving, ready to form, with their front to the enemy.

THE enemy advanced and began to cannonade. We immediately halted behind a large bank, which covered our party from their guns, but which was easily got over, if they should advance and appear determined to attack.

THE artillery was posted on the top of the bank, which was high and commanded all round. Their cavalry came on near enough for grape-shot to do execution. They stood for some time, till Allum Cawn, the officer who commanded them, was killed, and above two hundred more; on which they retreated. The rest of the army chose to follow their example; the French bringing up their rear, moved back to their camp, and left us to finish our march to Trichinopoly.

I WAITED the next day on the Nabob, the Maiffore general, and the rest of the alliance, in order to settle the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. The army consisted of twelve hundred Europeans, and Topasses in battalion; seapoys in our pay two thousand. The Nabob's, Maiffore Marattas and Tanjore forces above fifteen hundred horse. Their infantry of all sorts ten thousand. It was then agreed to attack the enemy in their camp; and in case they chose rather to retreat to the island than stand an engagement, to take such measures as

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entirely to cut off their communication with the country ; which we effected soon after, and obliged them to surrender for want of provisions. 1752.

READY and resolute as these country people appear in council, they are ever dilatory, and slow in execution, superstitiously tied down to fasts and feasts, lucky and unlucky days : nothing spurs them on to act, till those ridiculous customs are complied with, which seldom happens before the opportunity is lost. Thus three or four days were thrown away in these trifling delays ; and the enemy apprised of our design, prudently, as we then thought, determined to retreat to the island for their greater security, burning and destroying a large magazine of provisions, intended for the siege of Trichinopoly. By this sudden and unexpected retreat, we had a more compleat victory, which made some amends for what I before was concerned at, the not having it in my power to attack them as we proposed.

THIS retreat to the island was on the 3d of April. The army under Mr. Law consisted of six hundred Europeans, Topasses, and Coffrees, eighteen hundred French sepoys, and about fifteen thousand black cavalry and infantry ; Mr. Dupleix's account says twenty thousand in all.

WE now endeavoured to cut off their supplies, which they mostly received from the other side of the Coleroon, their communication being open that way quite to Pondicherry. Promising myself great success from the activity and vigilance of captain Clive, I detached him with four hundred of my best Europeans, twelve hundred sepoys, and four thousand horse, to take post on the other side. He crossed

1752. crossed the two rivers, about seven miles below Seringam, at a pass near Dolaways Choultry.

I ALSO sent captain Dalton to take the post of Elmiseram where the enemy had cannon. The place surrendered after a faint resistance. Captain Clive having acquainted me that he had taken post at a village and a Pagoda, called Samiaveram, about ten miles from Seringam, and on the high road to Arcot and Pondicherry, through which their convoys must pass, I paid him a visit the 8th of April, after Elmiseram was reduced, to concert what further measures were proper to be pursued. We agreed that he should make an attack upon Pitchunda, a place which they had fortified, situated on the bank of the Coleroon, opposite to Seringam, and commanding the pass of that river. But it was first necessary to storm I algoody, a mud fort, where the enemy had a large magazine of grain, and this captain Clive executed three days after, while the necessary dispositions were making for the siege of Pitchunda. Having received intelligence that a party of the enemy were at Outatour, fifteen miles from Samiaveram, with a large convoy of stores, captain Clive marched the 15th of April to intercept them, leaving only a small party to secure his post till his return. The French being advised of his march, thought so good an opportunity of retaking a post of that consequence ought not to be neglected. They therefore formed a detachment from their army, who had orders to march after dark, that their attack might be made at day-light, on the party which were left in the Pagoda.

On captain Clive's arrival at Outatour, he found no enemy nor convoy, and suspecting the report to have

have been a finesse of the enemy, in order to draw him from Samiaveram, he resolved, after refreshing his people, to return immediately to his former post. He arrived near the Pagoda about eleven at night; his men, fatigued with so long a march, went to rest, and captain Clive retired to his pallan-keen. 1752.

THE French, ignorant of captain Clive's return, began their march in the night from their army, and arrived about four in the morning at Samiaveram, where they found every thing as quiet as they could wish: their guides led them directly to the pagoda. On their approach, the 16th of April, the party left there in the morning challenged, and were answered Friends, by some deserters from us. This contented our people, who imagining them some of captain Clive's returning party, were not convinced of their mistake till the sepoys began to fire.

CAPTAIN Clive awaked, and alarmed at the firing, ran immediately towards it, by which means he joined the French sepoys, who were pushing into the pagoda, and imagining them his own troops, who endeavoured to screen themselves from an attack, began to reprimand them in the country language, angrily demanding what they were firing at. The sepoys, in this confusion, paid little regard to him, till one of their officers suspecting him to be an Englishman, drew his sword, and cut at him, which he parried, by advancing forwards and receiving the blow from him near the hilt; another officer of our sepoys accidentally coming to his assistance, cut the fellow down, and disengaged captain Clive, who by this time perceiving his mistake, and by great good fortune getting out of their hands,




1752. hands, went in search of his detachment, which he found under arms; but in the mean while his own party in the Pagoda was dislodged, and the French were in possession of the post.

HE therefore instantly formed his detachment, and marched to the Pagoda, and finding the enemy in possession, he immediately ordered the gate to be stormed. The officer who attempted it was received by a platoon of the enemy, who killed him on the spot, and many of his people.

ON this it was thought necessary that our cannon should be sent for, and a summons was made to the French commanding officer, signifying, that as it was impossible to escape, it was most prudent for him to surrender. The French officer bravely endeavoured to disengage himself, by sallying out of the Pagoda; but being killed in the attempt, with some of his foremost people, the rest surrendered at discretion. The French sepoys without the Pagoda seeing it surrendered, endeavoured to steal off; but the day beginning to dawn, they were perceived and pursued by the Maratta cavalry, who riding in amongst them, inhumanly cut them all to pieces.

MONAGEE with the Tanjore troops undertook to retake Koiladdy. He succeed April 21st, and the Nabob gave the King of Tanjore a grant of it, as it guarded the bank, which conveyed the river Cauvery into his country.

As nothing now remained to obstruct our designs on Pitchunda, I took post on the island to cover the cannon and ammunition necessary for the attack of it. The garrison consisted of seventy-

two Europeans, forty-nine \* Topassès, and some 1752.   
sepoys; and on the defences were mounted three  
pieces of cannon and two mortars.

RECEIVING intelligence that the enemy had a party at Ouratour, I sent captain Dalton with one hundred and fifty Europeans, four hundred sepoy, and one thousand horse, to dislodge them; he came up and had some skirmishes with them, but expecting to renew the fight the next day, the 2d of May, he found the place abandoned.

MONS. D'AUTEUIL and his party marched off in the night, left the greatest part of their convoy of stores, with which captain Dalton returned to captain Clive, who by this time had laid siege to Piterunda. I therefore ordered him to continue with Mr Clive; and a battery being opened on the 8th, on the 10th the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent to the Nabob at Trichinopoly. Thus their communication was entirely cut off from the other side the Coleron, Monagee having taken Koiladdy. I detached our Coffrees † with two guns, to secure the pass on the island, who threw up an intrenchment, which might alone have defended them against the whole body of the enemy's army; so inaccessible is this pass, any where but in front, and there it does not admit of more than two men a-breast. I then encamped at Chuckleypollam, facing the pass of the Cauvery.

\* Topassès are the descendants of the Portuguese who first settled in India, and married with the natives. They differ very little in colour from the Indians themselves. They have the name of Topassès given them from their wearing hats.

† Coffrees (by the French called Cafes) is now become the general name for all negroes who are brought to India from the Cape, the Coast of Guinea, or any other parts of Africa, and chiefly from Madagascar. They are brave and steady in the field.

1752.

THE Maifforeans and Marattas on our right extended to Warriore Pagodas, and from thence a chain of cavalry to the extremity of the island, to prevent any supplies slipping through, Monagee and the Tanjore troops on our left, the main body at Dolaways Choultry, to defend that pass between them and us, all Tondeman's and the other Polygar's Colleries. Such was our situation. The enemy who encamped till then on the island, struck their tents the 18th of May, and took shelter under cover of the walls of Seringam, giving out that they would receive us there. To distress them the more, we passed the Cauvery to the island, and encamped on the east side of Jembikishna, where some days after we threw up an entrenchment quite across from river to river, intending to wait there till we could get up some heavy cannon from Davecorah; having but one eighteen and one twelve pounder, artillery not sufficient to make a breach. Monagee took possession of my post at Chuckley-pollam. We were in this situation, when intelligence came that Mr. D'Auteuil, who was lately driven out of Outatour by captain Dalton, was then at Volconda, with a large quantity of stores. Captain Clive, on the first notice, formed a party, and marched the 27th. He returned the 29th with Mr. D'Auteuil and his whole party prisoners. They consisted of three officers and fifty men, three hundred sepoy and as many horse.

At this time the enemy were so reduced for want of provisions, that the Indian army, on pardon and protection promised by the Nabob, came over to us in great numbers; one of their generals in particular, named Coop Saib, joined us, with a thousand horse, a large body of sepoy, and fourteen elephants.

CHUNDA

CHUNDA SAIB dispirited and reduced to the greatest extremity, and without money to pay his troops, willing to try if he had a friend in Monagee the Tanjore general, demanded leave to pass through his camp to Tanjore, which was very readily granted; and, as is too much the custom in like cases, the moment he was in the power of his enemy he was made a prisoner. He might, no doubt, have escaped to Pondicherry, but in these circumstances he dreaded Mr. Dupleix.

1752.

NEXT day, June 1st, the Nabob, the Maissore and Maratta generals, Monagee and myself, being assembled, it was debated how to dispose of him. I was silent on this occasion, and they were of different opinions. The Nabob and Monagee judged it very dangerous to let out of their hands a man who had already given them so much trouble. The Maissore general and Morarow were for having him in their possession. Finding they could not agree, I proposed that we should have the care of him, and keep him confined in one of our own settlements: this was by no means approved, and we parted without coming to any resolution; but some of Monagee's people put an end to the dispute by cutting off his head, which was done the 3d of June\*.

THUS did Chunda Saib pay the just price of his ambition and presumption. In private life he is said to have been a man of great benevolence, humanity, and generosity: with regard to his public character; in this country, ambition being a

\* Mr. Dupleix, in his Memoire, falsely asserts, that Col. Laurence himself ordered the death of Chunda Saib, notwithstanding that calumny had been clearly refuted in the country.

1752. venial fault, every man who succeeds is a great man; if he fails, he is only reckoned unfortunate.

M. D'AUFÉUIL was brought prisoner to Trichinopoly, and on giving his parole not to serve against the Nabob, was released. The enemy became so much straitened for want of provisions, that they could hold out no longer. Mr. Law therefore thought in earnest of surrendering, and to that end desired our mediation with the Nabob. We met in consequence, and explained to him the Nabob's terms, which were in general;

THAT the Pagodas of Jembikishna and Seringam should be delivered to the Nabob, with all the guns, stores, and ammunition. That the Europeans, Topasses, and Coffrees should be prisoners of war. That the officers should give their parole not to serve against Mahomed Allee Cawn and his allies, and the deserters be pardoned.

THESE articles being signed by Mr. Law on the 3d of June, captain Dalton took possession of Seringam, and the French marched out, being about six hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys. The rest of their allies accepting of the Nabob's cowle or protection, separated and dispersed. In Seringam we found thirty pieces of cannon, ten of which were eighteen and twelve pounders, the rest field-pieces, two large mortars, a number of co-horns, and a great quantity of ammunition, and all kind of military stores.

CAPTAIN Campbell with a party escorted the prisoners to Fort St. David. The Pagodas being thus secured, and every thing so happily finished to the southward, I imagined we had only to put the Nabob in quiet possession of his territories to  
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the northward, where many places still remained with the French, but Gingee was the only fort of consequence which could give us any trouble. 1752.

ON my representing the ill consequence of our delays, and pressing the Nabob to march with his allies, and reduce the rest of the province, I perceived in him much unwillingness and unaccountable backwardness; but this mystery was at length explained. The Maissoreans refused to march till the Nabob had delivered up Trichinopoly, which they demanded, as they said, according to agreement; insisting, that as they had performed their part of the treaty, it was but just the Nabob should fulfil his also.

THE Nabob justly objected, that it was neither their agreement, nor reasonable, that the fortress of Trichinopoly should be the price of its relief, but that when the King of Maissore had settled him in quiet possession of all his other dominions, he should then be ready and willing, according to his real intention and meaning, to give up that place.

THE Maissoreans seeming satisfied, promised to march and remove this objection. In confidence that they would follow, we marched with our Europeans to Outatour the 16th of June, but not finding our allies, or the Nabob follow us, we returned the 18th of June, hearing that Morarow with his Marattas intended putting a stop to the Nabob's march.

I ENDEAVOURED to reconcile the chiefs; but I found Morarow wanted no less than Trichinopoly for himself; an agreement therefore between the two contending parties never could procure it him, wherefore he separately advised both not to give

1752. up their pretensions; hoping a breach would give him an opportunity to effect what he saw was not to be obtained by any other method.

THE Nabob, by giving up Trichinopoly and its dependencies, without being in possession of the rest of the Arcot countries, quitted for ever that part which alone, of all his pretensions he was actually in possession of. The King of Maissore's friendship and alliance was of great consequence, but it also might be purchased too dear; for however he might promise to assist the Nabob in the recovery of his other countries, when he was once in possession of the place, if he should refuse to fulfil this part of the engagement, who could force him? Other compensations were proposed, and the Nabob even offered to give him a promise under his hand, to deliver Trichinopoly in two months, if he would but march with and assist him.

NANDERAUZE promised he would follow and join the Nabob with his troops, in order to march towards our settlements. The Maissoreans and Morarow remained encamped under the walls of Trichinopoly, seemingly friends, and every day talked of following the Nabob. Monagee with the King of Tanjore's troops returned home, and Tondeman followed them. The Tanjoreans could never be brought to consent to the giving Trichinopoly to the Maissoreans.

On the 28th we marched from Outatour through Volcondah and Verdachilum, and arrived before Trivedy on the 7th of July. The enemy had left there a small party, which, on the Nabob's summons, surrendered. There I left the army, under the command of captain De Gingins, being in so bad a state of health that I could not keep the field.

It will not be improper to shew what the French were doing at Pondicherry. To give Dupleix his due, he was not easily cast down; his pride supported him, and at the same time his mind was full of resources; the injustice of his cause never disturbed him; and, provided he could gain his ends, the means never gave him any concern. His council was chiefly composed of his own creatures, who never disputed what he proposed. He was married to a woman, endowed with as much spirit, art and pride, as himself; born in the country, mistress of all the low cunning peculiar to the natives, and well skilled in their language. 1752.

THE surrender of Mr. Law happened at that season of the year, when the ships arrived from Europe, and brought a large reinforcement, to which Mr. Dupleix added all the sailors from the company's ships, sending Lascars on board to navigate them to China. Thus he collected new troops; and not to want a pretender to the government of Arcot, on Chunda Saib's death, he proclaimed Raja Saib his son, Nabob of the province; but afterwards, that he might seem to have an unbounded right of appointing whom he pleased, he gave out that the Mogul had sent him Saneds or commissions, declaring him governor of all this part of the Carnatick, from the river Kristnah to the sea. These Saneds were proved to be a forgery, and the whole contrivance detected in the most public manner, as will appear.

THE supposed messenger from Delly was received with all the honour and ceremony usually paid to an ambassador from the Mogul; and that nothing might be wanting to compleat the farce, Mr. Dupleix himself, in the country manner, with musick and dancing girls before him, mounted on an elephant,



1752. elephant, received with due reverence from the hands of the pretended ambassador, his commission from the Mogul, and in consequence of his appointment, gave out all orders from that time as such; he even kept his Durbar or court, sat on a sofa, and received presents from his council as well as the natives, like a Prince of the country; and thus endeavoured to support the character of Subah of the Deckan.

MR. DUPLÉIX, to return to my subject, finding that Chunda Saib's son would be of little use to him, by his interest in the country, or his money, offered the Nabobship of Arcot to the governor of Vellore, Mootis Allee Cawn, a man every way fit for his purpose, and besides, very rich. Mootis Allee Cawn was to find money, and Duplex Europeans. Under different pretences, and at different times, he got from him about three lack of roupées; but the titular Prince finding he was only amused, demurred till Duplex would give him better proofs of making good his promises. As there was no more money to be got, Duplex had no further occasion for him, and left him where he found him, only something the poorer.

As I have said before, there was still a good deal of the Arcot province in the hands of the French, and Chunda Saib's friends, which we should have endeavoured to recover. Our forces were not very considerable; we had lost a great many men; there was a strong garrison left in Trichinopoly, and we had but few recruits that year. The French had many more, besides pressing the seamen into their service. However, enough might have been spared to go with the Nabob and gather his rents, and to recover the greatest part of the country. Instead  
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of beginning by degrees, which at that time was all our strength would admit of, the governor of Madras resolved to attack Gingee. 1752.

GINGEE is situated to the west of Pondicherry. It is surrounded with mountains, and the roads, or more properly passes, leading to it, begin between those mountains, at about ten miles distance. An army within those passes may be easily blocked up, unless they can afford to secure themselves, and keep their communication open with the country. It consists of two towns, called the Great and little Gingee. The first to the southward, the other to the northward. They are both surrounded by one wall, three miles in circumference, which incloses the two towns, and five mountains of ragged rocks, on the summits of which are built five strong forts. The two towns are divided from east to west by a wall lined with cannon, which one of those five rocks defends as a citadel. The place is inaccessible, except from the east and south-east. Four roads lead to it, by the one our army marched, the other faces towards Arcot, the third to Wandewash, and the fourth to Pondicherry. The place was well supplied with all manner of stores, and garrisoned by an hundred and fifty Europeans, and sepoy and black people in great numbers. Such was the state of Gingee when we resolved to besiege it. Ill as I was, at that time, with the fever, I set out from Fort St. David for Madras, to see the governor, and try if I could dissuade him from the attempt.

I REPRESENTED the situation and strength of the place, compared to the force we could send, and even allowing that we could have marched our whole force, the number would not be sufficient for the attack, and at the same time to provide for

1752. for our security, by keeping the passes open, and protecting our convoys of provisions, which must come from Fort St. David, as no supply could be expected from a country disaffected by its neighbourhood to Pondicherry. Besides, we had also an enemy at our back, with a force sufficient, at least, to stop our convoys. I represented to him, that the Nabob's affairs also required our settling other places first, where we were sure of success; and we ought to consider what an impression the least check would make on the minds of these fluctuating, and yet unsettled people.

THESE, with several other reasons, determined me to dissuade the governor from the attempt; but he declared to me, that he had ordered a party, and it must go.

MAJOR Kinneer was sent with a detachment from the army at Trivedy, of two hundred Europeans; the Nabob also sent his troops, about six hundred horse, and fifteen hundred sepoy.

THEY marched the 23d of July, and arrived before the place the 26th. A summons was sent, which the French answered very civilly, by saying, they kept it for the King of France, and were resolved to defend it. Soon after, intelligence was brought that a party marched from Pondicherry of two hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoy. Two pieces of battering cannon, ammunition, &c. were ordered out, under an escort of an hundred and fifty Europeans. The French posted themselves on the road our convoys were obliged to pass, upon which Major Kinneer judged it better to leave Gingee, against which he had no prospect of success, and meet the French; finding

ing it of most consequence to keep his communication open. 1752.

THE French had made choice of a good post, with a river and the village of Vickarivandy in their front, and seven pieces of cannon well disposed. Our men attacked, but were very warmly received, and galled by a brisk fire from behind walls. A blundering commander of our artillery, (a Frenchman who had deserted and was taken into our service) contrived to post our cannon so, that they could not favour the attack; which Major Kinneer endeavouring himself to rectify, was wounded in the leg, and many of the men and officers killed; which obliged him in the end to retreat, but in very good order. Thus ended the expedition again Gingee. Poor Major Kinneer was almost recovered of his wound, but fretting at his disappointment, was seized with a fever and flux, which carried him off some time after.

THE French, animated as usual, upon the least success, joined this party with all the force they could bring into the field. They marched close to the bounds of Fort St. David. I was still at Madras, but having received an account of their motion, orders were sent to our troops in St. David's, to march out and encamp. Captain Schaub's company of Swiss was also sent by sea from Madras. The party went in boats, though I desired they might be sent in a ship which was in the road, as well for the safety and ease of the troops, as a security against any attempts of Mr. Dupleix, who, I very well knew, was capable of doing any thing to answer his present purposes.

MR. DUPLEIX, on notice of the embarkation, sent a ship out of Pondicherry road, and took captain

1752.

tain Schaub and his whole company, and carried them into Pondicherry, and there detained them prisoners of war. An action against the law of nations, and an open violation of the peace then subsisting between us and the French; sacred here, as well as in Europe, though we were allies in different causes. Immediately on news of this, ill as I still continued, I embarked with captain Gaupp's Swiss company, on board the Bombay Castle, the ship I had asked for the other party.

I ARRIVED at St. David's the 16th of August, and the 17th took the field with four hundred Europeans, seventeen hundred sepoy, and four thousand of the Nabob's troops, and nine pieces of cannon. I found the enemy encamped within sight of us, and after reconnoitring their situation, I resolved to attack them the next morning; which they either got information of, or suspected, for they marched off that night to Bahoor. I followed them the next day, for they still retreated, till they came very near their own bounds, with the village of Villanour in their front, three miles from Pondicherry.

MR. DE KERJEAN, a nephew of Mr. Dupleix, commanded this army. By his uncle's order, he protested in a long letter, against our entering their bounds, forbidding us to follow the Prince of the country even in his own territories. The absurdity of these protests, to which we had too long paid some regard, was greatly increased since Mr. Dupleix had thrown off the mask, by taking captain Schaub and his party prisoners.

I WAS encamped at a Pagoda called Trichanky, from whence I had a view of their camp, consisting of four hundred Europeans, fifteen hundred sepoy,

sepoys, and five hundred cavalry. In hopes of bringing them to an engagement, I attacked their advanced post at Villenour; but as they would not support it, I could do no more than drive out that party, my orders not permitting me to follow them into their bounds.

1752.

FINDING it impossible to bring on an engagement, I marched back and encamped at Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, to see if my retreat would encourage De Kerjean to follow us. As no people are naturally more elated with trifles, (I mean when they have not at their head a man of solidity, experience and judgment) I had hopes this scheme might take. The event more than answered my expectation. Mr. Dupleix ordered De Kerjean to follow us, conjuring him to improve the minute, and make the proper use of our fears. De Kerjean suspecting it might be otherwise, represented his thoughts of our retreat, which only procured him a more peremptory order, to march after us immediately; for Mr. Dupleix told him, he was convinced we would not fight; that he expected the \* Prince every hour with Mr. De la Touche, who should instantly supersede him. He was therefore obliged to obey, and accordingly encamped next day, within two miles of us, and I made a disposition for attacking him the morning after.

ON the 26th of August, at two in the morning, our little army was under arms; our sepoys in front in one line, our battalion formed a second, with the artillery divided on our flanks. A high bank on our left flank, extended to the French camp, and behind it were posted the cavalry, with

\* The Prince was a very large French company's ship, with seven hundred men, and presents from the French King for the Mogul, Salabatzing and Chunda Saib: she was burnt in her passage to India, and scarce a man saved.

orders

1752. orders to march as we did; and if they saw the enemy in any confusion, on our attack, they were immediately to make the proper advantage of their disorder. The ground permitting us, we marched in that order, and came up in time to begin our attack, a little before dawn of day. Our sepoy were challenged by the enemies advanced post, and not answering, received their fire and returned it, still marching on. The Europeans followed in good order, and kept shouldered while our sepoy were engaged with theirs. The day just then beginning to break, we saw the French battalion drawn out a little upon our left. On their right was the bank I mentioned before, and on their left a tank or pond of water, which obliged us to incline, to make our front equal to theirs. We then advanced, while they continued all the time a very brisk fire from their cannon. The small arms soon began: our men advanced firing; and the French stood their ground, till our bayonets met. The violence of the attack was made by our grenadiers and two platoons, who threw the enemy into disorder, and soon after their whole line was broke. They then threw down their arms and ran for it. Every moment our cavalry was expected to charge; but they, instead of pursuing, employed themselves in plundering the camp, which gave time to many of the French to retreat to Areacopong. The action, however, ended greatly in our favour. Mr. Kerjean, fifteen officers, and an hundred private men were made prisoners, and many more were wounded, or fell in the engagement. Their artillery, consisting of eight pieces of cannon, with all their ammunition, tumbrils, and stores, fell into our hands. We had one officer killed, three or four wounded, and seventy-eight men killed and wounded. The Nabob, highly delighted at our success, though displeased at the behaviour of his

own people, returned with me to Fort St. David, 1752. where we received accounts that three thousand Marattas were on their march from Trichinopoly to join the Nabob; but we had reason to suspect their intentions; they were to have joined the French, if our success had not prevented them. Nanderauze, the Maissore general, still remained before Trichinopoly, with Morarow, outwardly our friend, but ready to seize the first opportunity to get possession of the town: they therefore kept captain Dalton continually on the watch, the more so as it was necessary to seem as if we did not suspect them, or know any thing of their treating with the French. Mr. Dupleix did not lose so fair an opportunity of endeavouring to bring the Maissoreans to his interest. He therefore promised Nanderauze not only Trichinopoly, but gave him hopes that the kingdom of Tanjore might also be added to it.


On the news of our victory, three thousand Marattas joined us, commanded by Innis Cawn, the next in rank to Morarow, who, according to custom, swore fidelity to the Nabob, and we marched to Trivedy the 17th of September.

To improve the remaining part of the season, the monsoon coming on, captain Clive was sent with a small detachment to take Covelong, a fort 16 miles to the southward of Madras, and Chengalaput, about forty. The last mentioned fort was exceeding strong, being almost encompassed by a morass, and surrounded with two walls, the ramparts of which are sixteen feet thick, a wet ditch faced with stone sixty feet wide, quite round the outward fort, and another half round the inner. Chengalaput capitulated the 1st of October. It should be remarked, that the officer who commanded was then prisoner on parole.

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1752.  HAVING performed this service, and the monsoon now approaching, I proposed returning to winter quarters, at Fort St. David, to give our men, who were sufficiently harrassed, the small refreshment of two months rest, and good quarters, during the rains, which fall heavily in this country; but I had orders to canton the troops at Trivedy: the Nabob did the same.

NOTWITHSTANDING these seeming advantages to the northward, our situation in general was very discouraging. The Nabob's money at this time began to fail, and what is a natural consequence, his troops left him. Besides, they had never been used to keep the field at this season of the year; Morarow, on a pretended dispute with the Maissoreans for want of pay, marched off to Pondicherry, and declared for the French; Innis Cawn decamped also at the same time.

ALL this was a scheme concerted by Nanderauze, to see if he could not gain Trichinopoly. He would not break openly with the Nabob, for then all his hopes were gone; but if he could create us such a number of enemies, he concluded neither the Nabob nor the English could possibly support the war. He thought therefore, in such distress, he might make his own terms for the assistance we should want, and which he alone could give us. This, in reality, was the intention of his pretended quarrel with Morarow.

THE Maissorean, to save appearances, and act with some show of justice, said he would return to his own country, if the Nabob would pay him his expences in ready money. The sum he asked was as impossible for the Nabob to raise, as for us to advance, which he very well knew. Countries

were offered as securities ; but nothing less than ready money would satisfy, or what he chose rather, the being put in possession of Trichinopoly, which he had attempted to surprise in the following manner.

1752.

A NEAPOLITAN named Clement Poverio, who had been a long time in India, and knew the country language very well, had taken service with the Nabob, and commanded a company of Topasses. This man served as interpreter between captain Dalton and Nanderauze, who thinking it not difficult to bribe such a person, offered him a considerable sum of money, if he would be instrumental in lending him assistance to get possession of the town. The man desired some time to consider of it, and on his return honestly discovered the whole to captain Dalton, who, after returning him thanks for his fidelity, and promising a reward, ordered him to carry on the scheme with Nanderauze, and on his next visit to assure him he was ready to obey his orders. The fellow returned with his lesson, and acted his part naturally, so as to avoid the appearance of double dealing. The scheme concerted between Nanderauze and Moiarow was, that Poverio with part of his Topass company, should secure a gate for the entrance of the troops. The French prisoners that we had taken at Samiaveram and Volconda, were to be armed, and set at liberty, by the remainder of his company, who were to attack the guard over them. Six resolute fellows undertook to dispatch captain Dalton on his first appearance, after the alarm given. Every thing, in short was settled, and the night appointed for the execution. Captain Dalton apprised of this, to screen Poverio from suspicion, made the necessary dispositions for his defence, with the greatest secrecy, till the evening came, on which the plot was to take place. He

1752. then informed the Nabob's brother-in-law, the governor of Trichinopoly, of their designs, and the plan he had laid to defeat them. Terrified at the thoughts of an attempt, and consulting nothing but his fears, to prevent all risque, the governor sent a messenger to Nanderauze, informing him of the discovery of the whole plot, and our having taken proper measures to prevent its execution; adding to it all the circumstances that Dalton had told him, that the Maissorean might not doubt in the least, the truth of the discovery. When he had done this, he acquainted captain Dalton with it, not a little pleased with himself, and thinking he had acted with uncommon discretion in the affair to prevent the Maissorean's designs by such a prudent step. Nanderauze wisely desisted from the attempt, but offered large sums for Poverio, dead or alive. It was on the discovery of this, that I proposed Dalton should seize on the Maissorean and Morarow, which he might easily have done, by a surprise, as he often had conferences with them; and I must own, I thought in justice it would have been right to have done it: but the Presidency were of another opinion. Before we close the year 1752, it will be necessary to say what was doing by Salabatzing and Mr. de Buffy to the northward.

At the end of the year 1751, we left the French with the Viceroy of their own appointing, Salabatzing marching to Aurengabad: they were soon after disturbed by Balazerow the chief of the Marattas, who came down with a large army against them.

THE war continued till October 1752, when Gawzedy Cawn, the elder brother of Salabatzing, whom the Mogul had appointed Prince of the Deckan, marched to take possession of his government;

ment : but he died in fourteen days after his arrival at Aurengabad, poisoned by his own sister. After his death, Salabatzing concluded a treaty at Hydrabad with Balazerow ; but the Mogul, on the death of Gawzedy Cawn, appointed his son Shaw Abadin Cawn to succeed. He accordingly informed the Nabob, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Dupleix of the Mogul's appointment, and raised a large army to come and take possession : but he was soon obliged to drop that design, the Mogul's affairs requiring his presence with the army at Delly. Salabatzing now left at large, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Dupleix, gave all our settlements to the northward to the French, who, however, for the present, did not attempt to take possession, except of Divi Island. Mr. de Buffly frequently quarreled with Salabatzing, and as often again assisted him with his Europeans in collecting his revenues ; by which conduct he sometimes promoted the interest of the company, always his own, and is thereby become one of the richest subjects in Europe.

BEFORE the beginning of the new year the Maiforcans had declared against us, and being in possession of Seringam Pagodas, captain Dalton beat up their camp in the night, and killed some people.

Two days after this, the Maiforcans recovering themselves, attacked his advanced post, on the other side the Cauvery, within cannon-shot of the fort. It was defended by a redoubt, in which he had posted sixty Europeans, and some sepoys. The enemy came on with extraordinary resolution, through the fire of our musquetry to the very parapet. A panic seized our people, and instead of trusting to the redoubt, and waiting for a reinforcement from the town, they abandoned the post, and attempted to cross the river. The cavalry seeing their confusion,

1753. followed them into the Cauvery, and there cut every man to pieces. This obliged captain Dalton to keep within his garrison, which was still very sufficient; and as we apprehended no scarcity of provisions, we were not concerned on his account, being determined our efforts should still be exerted in this part of the province.

IN consequence of our resolution, and hearing the French were marched with Morarow from Waldore, towards Trivedy; we set out from Fort St. David the 6th of January, with three hundred and fifty Europeans, seven hundred sepoy, and joined the Nabob and our other forces at Trivedy. Our army consisted of about seven hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoy, one thousand of the Nabob's cavalry, and our own little troop of twenty. The Nabob had neither money nor allies, except the King of Tanjore, who promised very fairly, but never sent any assistance. The French, consisting of five hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoy, a troop of horse commanded by Mr. Maissin, and four thousand Marattas, intrenched themselves on the banks of the river Paniar in sight of Trivedy. Morarow, with his Maratta horse, ravaged and destroyed the country, attacked our convoys, and obliged us to march our whole force, to bring our provisions and stores from fort St. David.

On the ninth of January, in the morning, the Marattas, who had a train of artillery, and two companies of Topasses, brought down three pieces of cannon, and begun to cannonade the village of Trivedy. I ordered the grenadiers and some sepoy to attack their battery, and followed with our whole body to support them. The party pushed on briskly, and got possession of their artillery before they had time to fire a second round. As the cavalry still kept their distance but within cannot shot, we followed them with some field pieces about two miles,  
and

and were preparing to return when they surrounded and attacked us on every side. Our cannon did great execution with grape shot, and our men kept their fire admirably well. Finding they could not succeed, they left us to pursue our march to camp, with the three pieces of cannon our grenadiers had taken in the morning.

1753.

THE King of Tanjore having promised us a body of cavalry, I sent a party of infantry with two pieces of cannon to favour their junction. They came on some part of the way, but thinking us in a bad condition, and fearing the Marattas, they amused us only with promises, and obliged our party to return to the army without them.

THE enemy were so superior to us in cavalry, that we were obliged often to march our whole body to escort stores and provisions from Fort St. David's to our camp; always harassed more or less by the Marattas. On the 1st of April in particular, returning from St. David's, they attacked us in small parties the whole day, till within three miles of Trivedy, and there a large body attacked our front with great briskness, but they were repulsed with the same spirit. We then perceived the whole body of the enemy on the right of the road, within a mile of Trivedy. Our convoy very luckily marched on the left flank, near the bed of a very river. The enemy advancing, we came presently near enough for cannon, and kept advancing, and firing, with a seeming resolution on both sides to come to an action. They had a hollow way in their front, which they imagined we could not pass; but as soon as we came to a proper distance to make a push, I ordered my sepoys and artillery to halt, and keep the cavalry clear of my convoy. Then marching on briskly with the main body of Europeans, we crossed the hollow

1753. way, so much to the surprize of the French, that they gave us only one fire, and ran away. We were too well satisfied with our victory to pursue, as we had the convoy to take care of: our men, besides, were almost exhausted with fatigue, having been under arms from 3 o'clock in the morning, and the day so excessively hot, that some of our Europeans dropt down dead on the march, with heat and want of water. The Marattas hovered about us till the close of day. We killed a great many of them, and in particular Budgerow, Morarow's brother.

THE same day, on our march, we were joined by captain Polier, and his company of Swifs. With this reinforcement I determined to try if it was possible or warrantable to attack the enemy, who could not be brought out of their intrenchments to an engagement. In consequence of this resolution, I made a march nearer them.

IN the front of their camp was a village where lay an advanced party. Our grenadiers and one hundred of the battalion were ordered to attack it; they succeeded, and drove the enemy out, who returned to their main body. A little beyond this village, within seven hundred yards of their camp, was a convenient and safe post to make a battery. We had brought with us two twenty-four pounders, which we mounted, and began to cannonade their camp, which was surrounded with a parapet cannon proof, and with redoubts at proper distances, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, and a very broad and deep ditch, with a good glacis. We continued cannonading for some time; but to so little purpose, that we thought proper to desist; besides, our march from Trivedy increased our difficulties with regard to provisions. The Marattas were indefatigable, who being joined by a small party from Pondicherry, surprized a fort called Bonnagery, from

from whence we drew our supplies of grain. Finding I could not bring them to an engagement, and that an assault was impracticable, from their numbers, which in Europeans were almost equal to our little army; we returned to Trivedy, and captain Kilpatrick marched with a detachment to take Bonnagery, which the enemy abandoned in the night.

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CAPTAIN Dalton, ever since the loss of his party, had been shut up in the fort. The main body of the enemy was at Seringam, and their cavalry continually scouring the plain, prevented any provisions from coming in. The inhabitants and garrison were supplied from the magazines which were under the care of the Nabob's brother, who had always declared there was sufficient for a long time. Though there was no appearance of scarcity, captain Dalton thought it necessary to know the real quantity in store; and making an examination, to his great surprise, it appeared there was only sufficient for three weeks, and no hope of a supply from the country, a party lately sent into Tondeman's districts not being able to get any, or even to return. He immediately dispatched a messenger with an account of his situation, who reached me late at night, the 20th of April, at Trivedy. Astonished at this intelligence, we saw the necessity of an immediate march to Trichinopoly, which we begun the 22d instant in the morning, leaving captain Chase with one hundred and fifty Europeans and five hundred sepoy for the defence of Trivedy; and as I intended passing thro' the Tanjore country, letters were dispatched by the Nabob and me to the King, acquainting him with our march, and inviting him to join us on our approach, to his capital. Though we proceeded as expeditiously as possible, we were obliged to halt every third or fourth day, on account of the hot winds, which were so powerful at this season, that notwithstanding all our care,



1753. care, our little army was greatly diminished. We marched by Chillumbrum, a strong Pagoda, in which we had a serjeant, and a few gunners. A place of so much consequence for preserving our communication by land between St David's and the Tanjore country, should have been reinforced; instead of that, our men were withdrawn, and it fell into the enemy's hands soon after our departure. On our entering the Tanjore country, the King sent his prime minister Succogee, to compliment the Nabob and his allies. He received our force, and promised very fairly on the part of his master, to whom he soon returned. We pursued our march to Condore the 3d of May. On our arrival, the King desired to meet the Nabob and me half way. I set out the 4th, in company with the Nabob and Mr. Palk, who had been with me from my leaving Madras. The King met us at the place appointed, attended by his whole court, who on the occasion made a very magnificent splendid appearance. He was escorted by three thousand horse, well mounted, and a great many elephants in silver trappings. After ceremoniously passing each other in our Palankeens, we were conducted to a pleasant garden, and there received by the King, under a pavilion, supported by pillars of silver, elegantly covered, and furnished. There we renewed our assurances of friendship and protection, and all our former engagements; and it was determined that the King should support the Nabob, and join him the next day with three thousand horse, and a like number of sepoy. After a refreshment of fruits, a shower of rose-water, and being anointed with otter of roses, we were dismissed with presents of elephants, horses and sirpahs, and escorted to our camp by a brilliant party of the Raja's cavalry.

ON the 5th, the horse and sepoy joined us, according to agreement; but, as we soon after experienced,

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rienced, only to make a parade, for they left us the same day. We remonstrated, and very warmly pressed their junction, but they excused themselves with promises of returning. Unwilling therefore to lose time, and suspecting that they wanted only to amuse the Nabob and us, we marched, and arrived the 6th of May at Trichinopoly, much decreased in numbers through fatigue; and notwithstanding we frequently sent the sick back to our settlements, the hospitals were filled at our arrival. We had even left our tents behind, and took only with us what baggage was absolutely necessary, that nothing might retard our relieving Trichinopoly, which indeed was of so great consequence, that every thing was to be risked for it. The enemy made a show of opposition when we approached the fort. The whole plain was covered with their cavalry and sepoys, but a few shot from our field-pieces soon determined them to retreat to Seringam. As we sent one hundred men to the hospital upon our arrival at Trichinopoly, the remainder of my force, with what the garrison could spare, when mustered, amounted to no more than five hundred men in battalion, and two thousand sepoys. Nanderauze was on the island, and had with him ten thousand cavalry, six thousand Black infantry, and about one hundred Europeans, with a good train of artillery. After giving the men two days refreshment, I crossed the Cauvery to the island together with the Nabob, intending to attack the enemy if we found a favourable opportunity; but their superiority, and the advantage of their situation, made it impracticable. It was as much as we could do, by a very brisk fire of our artillery, to keep our flanks clear from the cavalry that surrounded us, and at every motion we made we were ready to charge. Nor were the enemy's cannon silent; so that after a very fatiguing day, I was obliged at night to retreat, and repass the river. In this attempt we had two officers killed, and three wounded,

1753. wounded, and but very few men in proportion; the enemy's cavalry suffered greatly.

WE then encamped on the plain, about four miles south-west of the fort, at a place called the Fakeers's Tope, to keep our communication open with Tondeman's country. This Polygar still remained a friend to the Nabob. He sometimes sent his troops, and all our provisions came from his country. Besides what was necessary for our daily consumption, our design was, if possible, to lay up a year's stock of grain in Trichinopoly; as without this supply our military operations must entirely be confined to this spot; but all our endeavours to this purpose were ineffectual. The king of Tanjore, or Tondeman, could easily have supplied us with the quantity wanted, if they had been willing; but they were apprehensive, that if once Trichinopoly was well supplied, we might think an army needless there, and march towards the coast, and by that means leave their country exposed to the insults of the enemy. In vain were all our promises, that the safety of their countries should be our first care: In vain did the Nabob and I represent to them the advantage it would be for the common cause to have an army at liberty to move where we pleased, which was not possible, while the magazines remained unfurnished with grain. All these reasons were to very little purpose; they judged of the English by themselves, apprehending that if once we could carry a point, promises made to gain it would be no longer in force. By these means we were kept in Trichinopoly above a year, never able to get three months provisions into the fort; I mean for the garrison only without considering the inhabitants, who were now obliged to leave their dwellings and settle in Tanjore, and other places: by this means the town, lately so populous, became almost uninhabited. About this time I was  
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commissioned with Mr. Palk to treat with the King of Maissore. We accordingly wrote to him, and desired an interview, which his French allies would not permit him to give us. He only recapitulated in a letter, six feet long, the agreement between the Nabob and him, the many injuries he had received from us by being kept out of the fort, and insisted on Trichinopoly or his expences. 1753.

THE day we left Trivedy the enemy came out of their entrenchments, and encamped near the fort. A party of the garrison made a sally, and, flushed with their first success, they imprudently pursued too far: the enemy getting between them and the town, cut off their retreat; and after some resistance, the whole party, which consisted of two officers, sixty Europeans, and two companies of sepoy, was either put to the sword, or made prisoners of war.

THE French now erected a battery, and began to cannonade the place. The garrison was sufficient to make a good defence, had not a mutiny arose, in which the men got possession of the Arrack in the garrison, and, mad with liquor, obliged the commanding officer to capitulate, by which means he and all the rest of the garrison were made prisoners of war. This gallant young man, whose lenity, in not putting a stop to the first appearance of the mutiny, had been attended with such bad consequences, was so sensibly affected with his misfortune, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died soon after at Pondicherry.

CHILLAMBRUM and Trivedy being reduced, the Marattas, French, and Maissoreans all joined at Seringam, and being also reinforced from other parts, their battalion outnumbered ours. With this superiority

1753. ority they crossed the Cauvery, and encamped to the westward of us, on the plain.

I WAS obliged, a little before that, to go into the fort on account of my health; and by a mistake of the gentleman who commanded, and to whom I had given directions for securing a post in his front at the Five Rocks, which he neglected, the enemy posted themselves between us and Tondeman's country. That our communication might not be quite cut off, I sent orders to secure the Golden Rock, which was accordingly done by two companies of sepoys. The enemy resolving to gain that post also, sent a party early in the morning, June 6th, to attack it; and had almost begun their attack before we perceived their motion, it being scarce day-light. As soon as ~~ever~~ we discovered the fire, I came out of the town, having dispatched a messenger first with orders to the commanding officer to detach the picquet, and endeavour to support the sepoys. The enemy moved at the same time, but before either had got half-way, the party which attacked our sepoys in the morning had carried their point, and drove them from their post. It was expedient immediately to attempt regaining it; we therefore moved our whole body: the enemy did the same. Being come near enough, as I imagined, to make my push, I ordered the first division of the grenadiers, and the picquet sent in the morning, (who had halted for my coming up) to march on briskly, and attack the party on the Rock, while I followed slowly with the remainder to support them. The enemy had sent a reinforcement to those on the Rock, and with their remainder were drawn up on the right of it. As soon as our first division was engaged, I advanced, and attacked their battalion; the first division had gained their point almost instantly, so that the enemy

my found themselves between two fires; in which situation they did not long remain, but retreated, or rather ran away as fast as they could, leaving us masters of the post, and three pieces of cannon.

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WHILE we were pursuing our success, the whole body of Marattas and Maissoreans rode in between us and them, so that our attention was afterwards sufficiently taken up in securing our return to camp, which we effected without difficulty, though they made two or three brisk attacks; but our men had been long accustomed to preserve their fire: and as our cannon were well served, the cavalry thought proper to retire. Their loss on this occasion was not inconsiderable; amongst the rest a nephew of Morarow, called Balapa, was killed. He commanded the Marattas, as their chief was yet ~~in~~ in the Arcot province. I had known this young man when he was on our side; a youth of great spirit and courage, and an excellent horseman. His body being found in the field, was sent back in my pallankeen to his friends: a respect I thought justly due to so gallant an officer; and they were very thankful for the favour. He was shot by one of our grenadiers, being advanced so near us that he cut one of our men in the ranks, though accompanied by only four horsemen. Had all the rest behaved with the like resolution, we should have found much more difficulty in our return to camp. Thus was this great object of the war again saved by our success, but the numbers of the enemy were so great, that a victory or two more would have left all my men on the plains of Trichinopoly. I therefore thought in earnest of a reinforcement, especially as the neighbourhood of the enemy, with their large body of cavalry, began to make my stay on the plain very inconvenient, without horse to oppose them. The Nabob and I determined to move to-  
wards

1753. wards Tanjore, to try what our presence would do with the King, and if possible, persuade him to send the troops he so often promised, to our assistance. We marched the 2d of July, and encamped at a place called Conandercoile, half-way between Trichinopoly and Tanjore. I chose this road rather for security, than shortness; it being most of the way through thick woods, and safe from the cavalry. Here we halted till we received intelligence of from Mr. Palk, that he had prevailed on the King to send out Monagee his general, at the head of three thousand horse, and two thousand sepoy, to join us, which was completed in ten days.

SOME of our ships at this time being arrived on the coast from England with recruits, a detachment of ~~one~~ hundred and seventy men, and some sepoy were ordered to march, and reinforce us, under the command of lieutenant Repington, who joined us on the 3d of August, and on the 5th we set out for Trichinopoly in company with the King's horse, commanded by Monagee. The enemy at this time also received a reinforcement, and were in battalion superior; however, as Trichinopoly was ill supplied and distressed, we were obliged to march. On the 7th we arrived at Dolaways Choultry, about ten miles east of the town. A heavy rain falling kept us there the next day; but the ninth, in the morning, we began our march, with a convoy of some thousands of bullocks, laden with provisions. By the signals made from the Observatory, on the top of the rock of Trichinopoly, we were given to understand that the enemy seemed determined to oppose us; and by the same signals we were enabled to judge of their disposition, which we soon discovered more plainly as we advanced. They had extended themselves from the French Rock to the Golden Rock; at each of which some of their infantry was posted. At the Sugar Loaf, as be-

tween both, and readiest to oppose us, if we attempted to pass, was their<sup>1753</sup> battalion, with the artillery planted to advantage. All the cavalry was between these rocks, and in different parties, forming a chain, and waiting our motions. In consequence of this disposition of the enemy, I ordered our march. Our provisions and baggage on the left flank with the Nabob, Monagee, and the Tanjore troops. Half our sepoy<sup>s</sup> in front, and after them, a party of Europeans, and an advanced guard to the first division of artillery. After them followed the battalion, and in their rear my second division of guns, supported by a picquet; the other half of our sepoy<sup>s</sup> brought up the rear of the whole.

As my intention was to avoid an engagement, if possible, having so large a convoy under my care, I directed the march so as to be out of the reach of their guns, intending to go round by the Golden Rock. This put their whole body in motion; they detached a party of their battalion to reinforce that post, where they had a great many sepoy<sup>s</sup>, their main body also made a motion to support them, and attack us as we came round. Finding it impossible to avoid an action, I resolved to prevent that party's reinforcing the other on the rock; and since we were obliged to engage, I resolved to dispossess the enemy, as the gaining of that post would give me an advantage. I therefore ordered the grenadiers, the picquet, and our advanced sepoy<sup>s</sup> to push for it; their party did the same to support it, but not with the same vigour of spirit, for we out-marched them, and drove off the party which were in possession. On this, their advanced party halted, and presently after the whole body, which had moved but a little way from the Sugar Loaf Rock to support them. When our whole force had reached the Golden

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Rock,




1753. Rock, I ordered our baggage in the rear of it, unwilling to expose them to the cannonade, and our cavalry to stay by, and secure it; being determined to attack the enemy, and if possible, to drive them out of the field, for without it we could not finish our march. As I have said before, the first party of the enemy had halted between the two rocks, but imprudently, nearer to us a good deal than to their own body. So favourable an opportunity was not to be lost. The picquet, grenadiers, and four platoons were immediately ordered to attack them, and according to their success, I was ready to move with the remainder, either to support, if repulsed, or to join, and push the advantage to their main body, by driving on them their beaten party. Our artillery was posted clear of the flanks of the party, as they marched, to keep the cavalry at a distance. The officer who was ordered for the attack, instead of following my orders, sent me word, he could not execute them without cannon, and that he was halted, waiting for it. The least delay was sufficient for the enemy to see their blunder, and in consequence to repair it, by moving up to their party, which would oblige me to do the same; and by this means, the affair might become more equal, and indeed with more advantage on their side, as they were superior. On this message I left the main body, and galloped to the head of the party, and there ordered him back to the post I had left, desiring him to leave this with me. Captain Kirk, at the head of the grenadiers, captain Kilpatrick with the picquet, and myself at the head of four platoons, marched on, the line keeping in admirable order, in spite of a very smart fire from the enemy's artillery, which cost us some men, and in particular captain Kirk, who was killed at the head of his favourite grenadiers. The brave fellows, by whom he was  
much

much beloved, could not see his death without some emotion. Captain Kilpatrick, who saw him fall, and his men at a stand, immediately put himself at their head, and desired them, if they loved their captain, to follow him, and revenge his death. These things on the spot have generally a very great effect, when delivered from a person, whose spirit and courage is known: the fellows, roused in an instant, swore after their manner, they would follow him to ———; and in that disposition attacked the enemy, who were unable to stand the shock. The main body seeing our success, (according to the directions I had left) marched to support us, and pursued the blow. The enemy at last moved to the assistance of their party; but too late. The briskness of the attack gave no time for rallying, but on the contrary, the pannick spreading through the whole, the battalion did not even stay to give or receive a fire, but ran off in great confusion, round the Golden Rock, and away to the Five Rocks. To increase their distress, our rear division of guns which we had left at that post, with most of our sepoys, and cavalry, to secure our baggage and provisions, cannonaded them severely in their retreat; and had the Tanjore horse done their duty, few could have escaped. The Tanjore chief alledged that he was afraid to leave the convoy, exposed to their large body of cavalry, which remained in good order; and constantly near us; but this was but a bad excuse, for orders had been sent him, on the enemy's retreat to pursue, and we were marching back to secure the convoy. The enemy, who were encamped almost in the order in which they drew up to oppose my march, struck their tents at the beginning of the attack, and left us little else on the field of battle besides their killed and wounded, with three pieces of cannon. We had not more than forty men killed and wounded; the enemy above an hundred.

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1753. I CANNOT help mentioning one particular circumstance in this affair, to shew the extraordinary behaviour of the French; the boys with my palankeen had straggled a little out of the line of march, and were picked up by the Marattas. It was the same in which I had sent back the body of Morarow's nephew: I therefore desired the Maratta chief to return it, and I would pay the price to the horsemen who had taken it; but the French had got it out of their hands, and would not suffer them to send it back, but carried it to Pondicherry, where, by Mr. Dupleix's order, it was carried about the town in triumph. At the same time it was reported that I was killed, and that we had lost the victory, of which the palankeen was a trophy.

THE enemy retreated to Alletore, very near the head of the island. The two next days were employed in putting provisions into the fort; when that was done, we marched and encamped at the Five Rocks, which was in their rear; upon which they retreated to Moutehillenour, and in so great a hurry, that they left behind them a nine pounder, and some ammunition. Elmiseram surrendered the 11th to Monagee. The strength of the ground they occupied, made it impossible for us to attack them; besides, they received in the mean time a reinforcement of Europeans from Pondicherry; and Morarow returned to them with all the rest of his cavalry. We then marched to cover our convoys from Tanjore, which their superior numbers of cavalry made it difficult to bring in. Several of our parties were attacked; in particular one on the 28th, by a large body of Marattas, and Maissore horse. They came so near the picquet, which was sent to the support of the convoy, that the soldiers in the front rank wounded some of the horse with their bayonets,

bayonets, and yet, by not parting with their fire, 1753.  
brought in the convoy safe. 

A NUMBER of our men falling sick, by the badness of the water, we moved our camp to the French Rock the 1st of September. The enemy made a motion also upon this, and encamped with the Sugar Loaf on their right, and the Golden Rock on their left. We were joined in this camp by another reinforcement from Fort St. George, commanded by captain Ridge, with some men and officers from Europe, about one hundred and fifty Europeans, and three hundred sepoy. This gave us great spirits, and determined us to attack the enemy. Our necessities indeed obliged us to it. We had a scarcity of every thing in camp, not above three days provisions, and no convoys could come without the risque of an engagement. I thought it more adviseable, therefore, by attacking them, to engage while I could be master of my own disposition. Having refreshed the troops with two or three days rest, we moved nearer the enemy; and in order that they might imagine the motion was made only to try if they would decamp on my approach, I sent to Trichinopoly for an 18 pounder, and with it cannonaded their camp, as if we meant no more than to make them uneasy.

THE following was the enemy's disposition, and my order of attack for the next morning. As I have said before, they were encamped with the Sugar Loaf Rock on their right, having thrown up intrenchments in their front and rear, but none on the left, where were posted the Maissoreans and Marattas, extending almost to the Golden Rock, on which they had a party of one thousand five hundred sepoy, one hundred Europeans, and two guns. Our battalion of six hundred rank and file was ordered into three divisions; to march in the rear of each other, just at a

1753. proper distance to form the line when necessary, Our sepoy's followed in the rear, to the right and left of the divisions, and the Nabob and Monagee with the cavalry brought up the whole, our cannon being divided on our flanks.

SEPTEMBER 21st, at four in the morning, we marched directly forward to the Golden Kock. Our front division, which was, according to custom, composed of the grenadiers, picquet, and two platoons, were ordered to attack it briskly. The enemy were so much surprized, that they even forgot to fire their two pieces of cannon, which were loaded with grape; and their infantry, so great was their panic, fired without any order, little to our prejudice. We got possession of the rock in an instant. No time was lost to increase the confusion these runaways must create. After dismounting the two pieces of cannon, and our front division again being formed, we marched on in the same order for the French battalion. As I wished and expected, the beaten party carried their confusion to the black troops in camp, who in crouds ran for safety towards the French, and increased their disorder. The enemy soon perceived by the runaways where they might expect our attack, and in consequence also found out that their intrenchments were of no use, which obliged them to form opposite to where we were marching. In this situation we passed the Black camp easily, and were with the French in less than half an hour. The day then began to dawn: Their cannon fired very briskly, as we approached; but, I suppose, in the hurry, they forgot to point them, so little damage did we receive. We found them drawn up rather on our right, and still inclining that way, with an intention, I supposed, to fall on the flanks of our divisions. As a large body of their sepoy's were posted on their left, I sent orders to ours on the right in my rear,

rear, to move up equal with the right of my first division to oppose theirs, and secure that flank. We formed our line as we marched, and attacked as we formed. Our right soon drove their left, and our center and rear divisions, the right and center of their line. Another body of their sepoy, in possession of the Sugar Loaf Rock, were routed by our division of sepoy, on the left of my last division. In short the affair was soon decided every where: they attempted to rally, and make a stand again, near a little breast work, but were quickly obliged to abandon it, leaving behind them their camp standing, all their artillery, (eleven pieces of cannon, with their commander Mr. Astruc) and nine officers prisoners, and about one hundred men killed and wounded on the field of battle, and almost as many prisoners. In this action we had seventy men and six officers killed and wounded. I received a slight wound in my arm, and captain Kilpatrick a shot through his body; concluding it must be mortal, he would not permit any of his people to stay by him, but sent them on to join their company in the pursuit of the enemy. Some stragling Maratta horse came up in the mean time, and according to custom, cut him with their sabres as they passed, which would have been repeated by others, but the surgeon by accident seeing him in that danger, staid and protected him, till the success of the day cleared the field of the enemy. The garrison made a sally, and picked up several prisoners, who were making their escape over the river to the island, where they at last collected their scattered army, leaving us masters of the plain, and an open communication. The Nabob's cavalry were few; but had our Tanjore horse behaved as they ought, we must have destroyed many more of the French battalion. Nor had they now any excuse as formerly, the enemy's horse having kept their distance on our first attack in the morning;

1753. morning; but the Tanjoreans were too busy in plundering the camp to think of a pursuit. We had not sufficient force to follow the blow on the island, but were obliged to rest contented with our success, and endeavour to persuade the King of Tanjore and Pondeman, to make use of this favourable opportunity to throw in provisions.

THE enemy had left a party at Weyaconda, which we were obliged to attack, and batter in breach. The breach was scarce practicable, when our sepoys perceiving the enemy stealing off by another gate, clambered up as well as they could, and cut the garrison to pieces; it consisted of two hundred Black infantry. Upon this we marched and encamped at the French Rock, and dispatched an officer to the King of Tanjore, to hasten the important article of provisions, who succeeded in part, and we got stores for three months into the place.

THE monsoon season coming on, it was high time to think of cantoning our troops. The Nabob and I therefore fixed upon Koiladdy, about fifteen miles east of Trichinopoly, as it commands the pass on the island. We should have remained nearer Trichinopoly, or perhaps in the town itself, but that would have occasioned a very great consumption of provisions. Therefore after leaving a sufficient garrison in Trichinopoly and the fort of Elmiseram, we marched for Koiladdy, and provided against the severe rains which generally fall about this season of the year. In our cantonments we were very sickly: we lost six officers in as many weeks, and a great many soldiers. The Nabob continued with us, but Monagee and the Tanjore troops returned home. Being pretty well acquainted with the nature of the people, notwithstanding their promises, of coming back; I wrote to the presidency, to send Mr. Palk, who

who had before so well managed for us, to keep that court firm in our interest, I was the more solicitous because I knew the King's prime minister was our enemy, and constantly endeavouring to keep his master neuter or rather a seeming friend to both, and if at any time we were unsuccessful, Succogee was sure to be in the interest of the enemy. Nanderauze sent an Ambassador to the king of Tanjore making large promises if he would leave us, and threatening on the contrary, if he did not, that the Marattas should ravage and lay waste his country, and punish him with fire and sword, and that the Nabob governor, meaning Dupleix, should also bring down Salabatzing against us. Succogee the minister had been brought over to the French cause by a large bribe, and by his intrigues removed Monagee from his master's favour.

THE enemy remained seemingly very quiet on the island, and had received some reinforcements from Pondicherry, but none came to us from Madras, to put us on an equality. Mr. Dupleix generally obliged the inhabitants of Pondicherry to mount guard and do the duty of the garrison, but we could not in like manner trust Fort St. George without regular troops. On the 28th in the morning, our out-guards reported that in the night they had heard a great firing towards Trichinopoly. We remained in suspense till the evening, when the following account came from captain Kilpatrick, who succeeded captain Dalton in that command.

THE enemy's whole army under Mr. Maiffin crossed the river the 27th at night. Their forces were distributed agreeable to the different false attacks they were to make. The real one was to be made by the French battalion, on that battery, which is in the center of the West face; and as I observed before



1753. before was called Dalton's battery.: They had eight hundred men, six hundred were to *escalade*, and Mr. Maissin with two hundred more and a body of *sepoys* to wait the event, prepared to second, and join the first party, when they had got over the wall. At three in the morning they passed the ditch which was almost dry. They placed their ladders, and mounted to the number of six hundred on the battery, without interruption, or the least alarm in the garrison. The guard appointed for the battery was of fifty *sepoys*, with their officers and two European gunners. The rounds had gone at twelve o'clock, and found them present, and alert. However, when the French came they were mostly absent, or with the two European gunners asleep. By this time, two or three shot were fired, which alarmed our picquet. The French, persuaded that firing alone would frighten the garrison, turned two of our twelve-pounders on the battery, against the town, and discharged them with a volley of small arms, their drums beating, and the soldiers crying out, *Vive le Roy*.

CAPTAIN Kilpatrick was then ill of his wounds. The next officer in command came to him for his orders. He bid him march instantly with the picquet, reserve, and what *sepoys* were not posted, to the place where the attack was made, and to order every man also to their respective Alarm Posts, and not to stir from them on pain of death. The French after their discharge, came down from the battery; and were between the two walls. There was a slight gate in the inner wall, which led into the town. The man who was their guide knew where it was, they had two *petards* ready to clap to it, and at the same time to amuse us, another party was to *escalade* the inner wall. The scheme was well laid, and had not the French petulance, made them too soon discover themselves, they perhaps might have had time to  
execute

execute their designs, and have entered the town. 1753. When our officer came to the place attacked, it was not easy for him to discover the situation of the enemy: but however in the hurry and confusion, he did not forget the gate, on the flanks of which he posted a number of men, with plenty of ammunition, to fire from thence incessantly, whether they heard or saw any thing of the enemy or not. And luckily he did, for the guide and petardier were found killed within ten yards of the gate. The escaladers had so far succeeded in their design as to have fixed ladders against the inner wall, and began to mount. The commanding officer of this party, preceded by his drummer were the first persons who attempted to enter, in which the latter lost his life, and the officer receiving a shot and cut at the same time, was pulled within the town. The frequent flashes of fire, occasioned by the briskness of the attack and defence, were the only guide our artillery officer had to direct the pointing of his guns; with which he so well succeeded, having loaded them with grape, as to shatter the ladders, kill a number of men, and entirely disappoint their well concerted scheme. They now only thought of making their escape, or screening themselves from our fire. This first was impracticable, their ladders being mostly destroyed, and they within the first wall: yet some attempted leaping off the battery, into the ditch, but the greater number lay hid under the parapet. The long wished for day at last came and discovered where the enemy were, who made use also of the light to beg for quarter, which was granted them. They lost in that affair \* three hundred and sixty-

\* It may serve as a specimen of Mr. Dupleix's manner of relating these affairs, both in his Memoire and the little History which he caused to be published in the year 1757, to cite the following words from the Memoire, where speaking of this loss of so large a party of *Europeans*, he says, *Il fallut donc le retirer et meme avec perte.*

1753. four Europeans taken prisoners, sixty-five of which were wounded. Eight officers also prisoners, and most of them wounded, besides forty private, and one officer killed, and they acknowledged themselves that many more were wounded, or lamed, who were carried off to the island. We found two petards, one as I said before, with the petardier within ten yards of the gate, the other at a little distance from it.

I GAVE orders for marching the next day, but first sent a reinforcement to captain Kilpatrick, as the number of his prisoners was much greater than his European garrison, and the enemy threatened the place with another general assault. We arrived at the French Rock without opposition, the enemy keeping close to the island.

THE King of Tanjore after a great many difficulties, sent out some of his troops to Tricatapolly; eighteen miles from Trichinopoly, and made no small merit of what he had done, for the Nabob. But the truth was, he had certain intelligence, that the enemy were forming a party of Marattas, to enter his country, and he therefore prepared to oppose them. Succogee had so effectually irritated the King against Monagee, that the command of the troops was given to Gauderow, an officer of no skill or judgment, but a creature of Succogee's, and uncle to the King. We desired that Monagee might be sent, well knowing his merit as a soldier, and his strong attachments to the common cause, which he always thought his master's interest. On our writing pressing for him, Succogee represented to the King, that Monagee was too much in our interest not to be suspected, and that it was possible, with our assistance, he might endeavour to make himself too powerful. Being acquainted with this, I was obliged to desist even from mentioning Monagee's name.

name, or the consequence might have been fatal to him. Not to drive things therefore to extremities, I wrote to the King that he might send whom he pleased to command his troops, I was satisfied. 1754.

THUS ended the year 1753, in which had we been able to pursue our fortune, our advantages would have been real: but instead of it our successes were only a respite, and we soon had the same to go over again, having, however, the consolation to think we had done all we could against so great a superiority. A superiority indeed which I am often ashamed to mention, for fear my veracity should be called in question.

MR. DE BUSSY with his army was still attending and supporting Salabatzing to the northward. Shaw Abadin Cawn, the son of Gauzedy Cawn, who had been appointed by the Mogul prince of the Decan, had too much employment on his hands, as chief Buchhee of the empire, to think at that time of making good his pretensions.

THE latter end of this year the Mogul Shaw Hamet was deposed, and succeeded by Allum Geer. This change was occasioned by the following event. The Mogul sent Shaw Abadin Cawn, the Buchhee, at the head of ninety thousand horse, to suppress an irruption of the Rashpoots, who are reckoned the best soldiers in Indostan. In this expedition he succeeded, but on his return to Delly, an uncle of his taking the advantage of his absence, persuaded the Mogul that he had always been his enemy, and intended making use of his army to dethrone him. The Mogul was the easier persuaded, as the Buchhee had obtained the post he enjoyed, more through power than favour, and had ever spoke freely of the Mogul's dissolute way of life, which was generally spent

1754.

spent in debauchery. It was therefore agreed, that Shaw Abadin Cawn should be put to death, but as they rightly judged it could not be done openly, the following scheme was laid for the execution of their design.

THE Mogul went out of Delly, at the head of twenty-five thousand horse, in order as he said to do honour to Shaw Abadin Cawn, and reward him for his services. At their meeting, the blow was to have been struck. The Buchshee having intelligence of all that passed, came readily to meet the Mogul, but brought with him thirty thousand Marattas; who in case of any attempt were to protect him. The Mogul's party hearing that such precautions were taken, not knowing what might be the consequence, and afraid to offend a man so powerfully supported, disbanded and returned to Delly, leaving their sovereign almost without attendants: who therefore immediately followed his troops. Whether Shaw Abadin Cawn thought this a favourable opportunity to dethrone a man who was a scandal to the dignity of the throne; or whether it was the result of a premeditated design, he followed the Mogul, entered Delly, and went immediately to the palace, where after making his obeisance, and sitting down a little while at the Durbar with the Mogul, he ordered his people to seize on and imprison him; he then assembled the Omrahs, placed on the throne, Allum Geer a near relation to the late Mogul. The deposed Prince, according to the cruel policy of their government was immediately deprived of his sight.

THE Marattas, as they had threatened, slipped by Gauderow, who was encamped on the frontiers, entered the Tanjore country, and began according to custom to plunder and burn the villages, cut the grain, and drive off the cattle. The King pressed  
by

1754.

by necessity, found at last, that no body but Monagee, could put a stop to the mischief. He applied also to me, but the violent rains had so swelled the rivers between us, and the roads were so bad that it was impossible for us to move. Monagee came out of Tanjore, with what troops he could raise, and Gauderow had orders to join him, and give up the command. Monagee came up with the Marattas on the 4th of January, drew them into an ambuscade, took from them eight hundred horse, and made a great many prisoners, and cut to pieces the remainder of the party. I flatter myself such a piece of service, might reinstate our friend Monagee, and restore him to favour, and that after so much success, perhaps he would join me, but I was greatly mistaken. On his return to Tanjore, he was very graciously received, but told at the same time, that the enemy being now subdued, there was no further occasion for his service; and consequently the troops were disbanded. All this was the effect of Succogee's envy, which increased in proportion with the other's merit. He persuaded the King, that keeping up troops was too heavy an expence; that the English would do the rest, that it was our business to fight and not his, who had just gained a glorious victory, with which he might sit down in safety and content.

DURING this time the two governors, Mr. Saunders and Dupleix were endeavouring to negotiate. After many altercations, and a tedious correspondence, it was agreed on between them to send commissaries from each nation, and hold a congress at Sadras, a Dutch settlement between Madras and Pondicherry, at which place matters might more easily be adjusted. Accordingly commissaries were appointed. Those on our side were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vansittart; on theirs the father L'Avaux, superior general of the Jesuits in India, and Messieurs De

1754. Kerjean De Bauffet, who assembled at Sadrafs in January.

WE proposed for the basis of the treaty, the Nabob being acknowledged, and the King of Tanjore to remain in peaceable possession of his country. But their proposals in answer to ours were as follows:

1st, THE restitution of the French Prisoners.

2dly, THAT Madrafs, which used to pay to the Duan of Arcot, four thousand pagodas yearly, should be independent, and all our arrears forgiven.

3dly, THAT the company should be lawfully entitled to Ponamally and all its dependencies.

4thly, THAT the Nabob should have some establishment elsewhere, if the preliminaries were received, and that his differences with the Maissoreans, with regard to Trichinopoly, should be reconciled.

5thly, THAT the English should evacuate all the places taken from the French, to whom they belonged, whether by grant or conquest, as well as all the places in the Carnatick, without opposing the disposition and arrangement of Salabatzing, who had an undoubted right, and who had associated the Marquis Dupleix in the government of the Deckan. Such were Mr. Dupleix's proposals.

It has been before said, that Mr. Dupleix would willingly make the world believe he had received grants from the Mogul, and Salabatzing appointing him governor from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin, and as such he was proclaimed in the usual form. In consequence of this pretended authority, these articles were made. But an unlucky mistake proved

proved it all to be a forgery. The French commissaries came equipped with what they called Des <sup>1754.</sup> *pieces authentiques* from the Mogul, and other officers under him, constituting and appointing Mr. Dupleix governor general from the river Krishna to the sea, and the French commissaries agreed (le four gentlemen should doubt it) that they should examine, and take copies of these grants.

A PERSIAN interpreter was sent for, from whom they learned, that the seven first saneds or grants were only copies, though produced as originals: to which the French commissaries answered, that Mr. Dupleix kept the originals at Pondicherry, and if required, they should be sent for; but that these papers, attested by a Cady\*, were of equal validity. This caused some dispute but our gentlemen dropt it; and on further examination, it appeared to Mr. Vansittart (who understood enough of the Persian language) to be a false seal fixed to the saned, called the Mogul's, the first having no date†. On that the French immediately objected to our proceeding any further; for unless we could produce Nazirzing's saneds to the Nabob, they could not admit of theirs being copied. We told them, that Nazirzing supporting him, was a sufficient saned in his favour. That it was their first proposal, as well as Mr. Dupleix's, all along to Mr. Saunders, to begin with an examination of their own saneds, and we could not help being surprized at their declining it, after some copies had been taken. That pieces of so publick a nature, we apprehended, might be exposed to all the world. But we could not help remarking, that the first of those saneds was without date; and the only original they produced, *et le plus authentique*,

\* Cady, a person who administers justice, and by whom copies of all public papers are attested.

† Mr. Dupleix is silent on this subject in his *Memoire*.



1754. as it is termed, was a manifest forgery; for it had no † chop of the Mogul or his Vizier; it had no sign manual, and from other manifest tokens, it was evident that it had been borrowed from some old saned, especially as the number 3 is annexed to it, which was the third year of the reign of the last Mogul.

I HAVE dwelt so long on this affair, only to give an idea of what shuffling conduct Mr. Dupleix was capable, in order to carry a point, and shew a real cause why the congress came to nothing. The commissaries were recalled on each side, and the war as likely to continue as ever.

WE remained near Trichinopoly, and the enemy on the island, but they were well situated, having a large body of cavalry, and the river fordable every where to incommode us very much. All the country round, after being the seat of war for so many years, was ruined; our provisions coming mostly from Tanjore, we were obliged to send large parties to escort them, for the merchants with grain would not come within eighteen miles of us without a party to protect them. We were obliged also to send five or six miles for firewood, while the enemy's cavalry were continually in motion on every side. At that time we had troops enough on the coast, which might have joined us, with whose assistance we should have been able, at least, to have protected our convoys with less fatigue and risque, as the event too fatally shewed.

In the month of February we sent a party for provisions and stores, and for fear the enemy might

† A smaller seal on which is engraved the name of the Mogul. Every grant is therefore authenticated, not only with this seal of the Mogul, but also that of his Viziers.

at last be tempted to attack them, I made it stronger than any I before had sent. It consisted of two captains, six officers, and one hundred and eighty men rank and file, four pieces of cannon, and eight hundred sepoys. The commanding officer had orders, if he saw or heard any of the enemy coming to attack him, to take post immediately and defend himself, till we could come to his assistance. They were attacked on their march from Killycottah, and within a mile of that place. There was a village before them called Coutapara, a little below Elmiseram. The men who were at that post, on the attack, secured the village for our people with some sepoys; and had they been in a body, and pushed for it, agreeable to their orders, the enemy could not have hurt them. It will be needless to enter on the particulars of this affair, as one can hardly do it without blaming, at least pitying the commanding officer, who is since dead, and who certainly, from his misconduct, lost his party; and what still added to the misfortune, our brave company of grenadiers, who had ever behaved well, and successfully, were amongst them. They were either taken, or cut to pieces, and both their officers killed. In this unhappy affair, one hundred and thirty four men were prisoners, one hundred of which were wounded. Of the eight officers four were killed, and three wounded, one only escaping; our four pieces of cannon, and about seven thousand pounds in money, with a large convoy of provisions fell into the hands of the enemy. The party was attacked by one hundred and twenty French infantry, two companies of deserters about the same number, the French troop of about eighty, six thousand sepoys, all the Maissore cavalry, and the Marattas, who came in at the latter end of the fray, in all about ten thousand, and seven pieces of cannon.

1754. WE began our march to their relief, but too late, as they had not followed the proposed disposition, and particularly had not taken post agreeable to their orders, but endeavoured to march on, covering their convoys with their force so divided and separated, that they were not able to support each other, so that the cavalry, who saw their confusion, had an easy conquest, and not much more than the business of a minute to cut them to pieces, which was the fate of every man, except those whom the French troops saved, and even of these there were few who did not bear marks of their defeat. This was a most heavy stroke upon our little handful of men, above a third, and I cannot help repeating it, our best troops, for so with reason I reckoned our grenadiers, who had always behaved so well on every occasion where bravery and resolution were to be shewn.

Soon after this misfortune we received intelligence, that one of the Nabob's brothers, Mauphus Cawn, was in the Arcot province, and marching to our assistance with two thousand horse, which determined me to try every method to maintain my ground some time longer and to leave a party of one hundred and eighty men, which was at Davecotah, to strengthen Mauphus Cawn, who wanted some Europeans to escort him to camp. We therefore opened our communication with Tondeman's country for provisions, as no merchant could be persuaded to venture the other way with grain from Tanjore. The enemy continued on the island, not yet chusing to encamp on the plain; besides, they had suffered as well as we in the last affair. Their whole attention was taken up in schemes to surprize our parties, but we so often changed our roads, and the time for bringing in our provisions, that they never succeeded. We were greatly assisted in this by a Moorman, who for his

deserved

deserved merit was made commander of our se-  
poys. 1754.

MAHOMED ISOUF CAWN, commonly called the Nelloure Subadar, from the place whence he came, had first a company of sepoys in our service, which were raised by himself. He is an excellent partizan, knows the country well, is brave and resolute, but cool and wary in action. He was never sparing of himself, but out upon all parties, and by his good intelligence brought in provisions to keep us tolerably well supplied. He is born a foldier, and better of his colour I never saw in the country.

MR. PALK, who was now at Tanjore, found affairs just as I had represented them: Monagee a prisoner, the King difficult of access, and his minister strong in the Maissore interell, opposing all our measures, and ever throwing in obstacles to prevent Mr. Palk's seeing his master; and when, after some days, he was admitted to an audience, he found the King wavering and irresolute, one hour seemingly convinced by his arguments, the next listening to, and approving of Succogee, and upon the whole determining nothing. Add to all these difficulties another, which as we did not suspect it, was the most dangerous. It was no less than the treachery of our linguist, who of course was acquainted, and knew all our designs and motions. This man being in treaty with Nanderauze, discovered to him all he knew of our affairs. It was a most intricate piece of villany, and with no small difficulty traced to the bottom, so carefully had the fellow laid his schemes. When the fact was proved against him, he was blown away from the mouth of a cannon, the common punishment of traitors.

1754.

IN this situation did we remain till some time in May, still waiting for Mauphus Cawn, and in hopes that his coming would determine the King of Tanjore to return to our alliance; but another accident helped to bring it about more effectually. On the 12th of May, I sent a party out in the morning to take post on the plain, and wait for a convoy of provisions from Tondeman's country. The party was commanded by a discreet and gallant officer, captain Caillaud, who with one hundred and twenty men, two guns, and five hundred sepoy, marched from camp about four o'clock in the morning. The Nellore Subadar, who was in the front of his advanced party, on getting over a little rising ground, was surprised by his horse neighing, who was immediately answered by many others. When he got to the top of the bank, he discovered a part of the enemy posted; the French troop in particular, who mounted on his appearing, first discharging their carbines, on hearing which captain Caillaud halted, formed his party, and rode up to his advanced guard. He met the Nellore Subadar, who told him, the enemy were on the road, and had posted themselves, as well as he could distinguish, in the same place where it was intended to wait for the provisions. The enemy had a bank in their front, which formed a parapet, and it was agreed to attack them, immediately on their flank, with the Europeans on one side, and the sepoy on the other. They quickly drove the enemy, and obliged them to leave a tumbril of ammunition behind, and some of their men. The post was immediately taken, and there the party waited agreeable to their orders. By this time it was broad day-light, when we discovered the number of the enemy, which was much superior to our party, even in infantry, besides all the Maissore cavalry. Captain Caillaud therefore employed a black fellow to slip through the enemy that had surrounded him, and order the provisions

visions to return. The enemy continued at a little distance from the post, and contented themselves with a cannonade. The moment the firing was heard in the camp, the little army being under arms, marched to support the party. The whole body of the enemy were seen likewise on the plain. Captain Polier commanded (I being much indisposed at the time, and scarce able to move out of bed.) As our distance was less than that of the enemy, we were first joined. Captain Caillaud having reported what he had done with regard to the provisions, it was agreed to return to camp, and, if possible, to avoid the enemy, then hastening to cut off our retreat. 1754.

IN the morning, one of the gun-carriages was rendered useless, by the enemy's cannonade. The same accident also happened to captain Polier, who not caring to leave the cannon behind, spent some little time in fixing them on spare carriages, to bring them off; this being done, they began to move, the sepoys divided in front and rear. The enemy had now also joined, and were marching down in very good order, and so near, that it was impossible to avoid an engagement. The French battalion, as our people marched by files, was on their right flank, the sepoys in our rear, and the cavalry ready to charge on the right, and in front.

OUR army marched on very quick to gain a more advantageous piece of ground a little way before them, which the moment they were in possession of, the men were halted, and faced the French; the sepoys in the rear were drawn up fronting those of the enemy, to keep them off our right flank, so that our little body was formed in half a square. The sepoys on the left, with one piece of cannon, had orders to keep off the cavalry. Our two remaining pieces (for we carried out but five in all), were in the front of

17 4. the battalion opposite the French. Never, I believe, were two pieces better served: they were of the short six pounders, that take in a large quantity of grape, so that when they were near enough, every shot took place in the French battalion. The enemy were so much galled by the brilliancy of this cannonade, that they began to give way, which we saw, in spite of all the efforts of their officers to keep them up. The lucky minute was improved, by our men advancing and giving them a fire, which completed what the cannon had begun, and left us at liberty to finish our retreat. We suffered mostly from their sepoys, who, though they fired at a great distance, annoyed us very much in wounding our men, and most of our officers; captain Folier received two wounds, and was obliged to give up the command to the next officer, captain Caillaud, who began the march on the retreat of the French, and brought the party home with the two dismounted pieces of cannon.

Our forces, that day, when joined, consisted of twelve platoons in battalion three hundred and sixty men, one thousand five hundred sepoys; and as to our cavalry, we had our troop of about eleven men, and a few of the Nabob's horse: our artillery five pieces of cannon, two of which were rendered unserviceable by the accidents before related. The French had five hundred Europeans their two companies of deserters, their troop of about fifty, near five thousand sepoys, and all the Maissore cavalry. About six thousand of the Marattas the day before luckily crossed the Coleroon, on some dispute between them and the Maissoreans.

Our loss in battalion was six officers wounded out of nine, fifty nine private men killed and wounded, and about two hundred sepoys. The enemy's loss was much more considerable.

I EXPECTED the French would have encamped where we had fought, which, had they done, we must have run the chance of another battle, either to have marched away towards Tanjore, or to have convoyed in provisions; but they luckily for us chose to return to the island, and our communication being open, the provisions came in that night. I now determined to march towards Tanjore, and there wait for Mauphus Cawn; besides, I was in hopes my presence with an army might do something in favour of Mr Palk's negotiations. I wrote to him, however, to apprize the King of my intentions, and to see how he took it. While I was waiting for his answer, an event happened which made our army as welcome as we could wish. The enemy, the second night after our engagement, took all their Europeans, three thousand sepoy, and two thousand horse, and marched away for Tondeman's country, with an intention to burn and destroy every thing they could, to deter that Polygar from sending any more provisions. 1754.

THE country people alarmed, drove all their cattle and valuable effects into the woods, where it was impossible to follow them; and this expedition of the enemy's ending in nothing, but burning a few empty villages, and taking a gun of ours in the woods, which the sepoy had to protect our convoys. After three days they returned, but vexed at their disappointment, and finding the King of Tanjore would not declare, they lost patience, and fell furiously upon the frontiers of his country, took Killycottah, a fort on the borders, and marched to Kolladdy, which they also took, and by that means made themselves masters of the bank on the island, which carries the water into the Tanjore country, and began to cut it in three or four places.



1754.

In these circumstances, without waiting for Mr. Palk's answer, for I knew the King would be glad to see us in his country to defend it, we marched immediately to Tanjore, through Tondeman's woods, dividing our force, and leaving half with captain Kilpatrick in Trichinopoly. I wrote also for the party from Davecotah to march, and meet us at Tanjore, for I found that Mauphus Cawn, for whom we waited, was not moved from Arcot. On my first day's march, as I expected, I had a letter from the King, begging me to come, and wishing me joy on the late victory. Mr. Palk also wrote to me, that things were much altered in our favour since this expedition of the enemy's, and that the King had ordered his horse out under Gauderow. Mr. Palk advised him to send his cavalry to meet us, that when joined, we might soon drive the enemy out of his kingdom. Instead of that, he ordered twelve hundred horse to go to Tricatapolly, to punish the enemy, as he said.

MORAROW, who still remembered the shame of his defeat, some months before, thought it now a good time to be revenged of the Tanjore troops, especially when Monagee was not at their head. He therefore crossed the Cauvery, and at day-break fell upon Gauderow's party, who made as little resistance as surprised troops commonly do: Gauderow and two hundred of his men only escaped, the rest were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. We arrived two days after this fray near Tanjore, and there met the party from Davecotah, and five hundred sepoy. The King came out of his fort to meet me, but I was so ill, that I was obliged to send captain Caillaud to make my apology.

THE next grand point we had for Mr. Palk to endeavour at, was the removal of Succogee from the  
King,

King, and Monagee to be restored to favour and power. The circumstances were favourable for us, 1754. and Mr. Palk and captain Caillaud managed so successfully, that they convinced the Tanjorean, that to his minister, and his bad counsels must be attributed all his misfortunes; and that, had he continued steady to the Nabob and the English, the war might have been happily finished, and the enemy could not have dared to enter and lay waste his country, nor the bank have been destroyed. But still it was not too late; every thing might be recovered if Succogee was removed from his person and councils, and Monagee restored to his former rank, who had given so many convincing proofs of his strong attachments to his master's interest. The King was deeply concerned: he would fain employ both; he was unwilling to part with his favourite; but when he was convinced that our friendship depended on it, Succogee was removed, and Monagee invested with the sole and full management of his kingdom, and appointed once more commander in chief of his forces. New troops were raised to make up for their late loss, and every thing promised well from so lucky a change in our favour.

At this time we were acquainted from Madras, of the arrival of a detachment sent us from Bombay, by that presidency, at the request of our governor and council; and indeed I must do governor Bouchier the justice to say, that he was always inclined to give us any assistance in his power. Some ships from Europe arrived also with recruits.

MAUPHUS CAWN was then at Conjeveram, sixty miles west of Madras, but he wanted money and some Europeans to enable him to join us. My opinion was asked, what should be done in this affair. I gave it for advancing him the sum required, a lack  
of

1754. of roupees, and that a party of five hundred Europeans, consisting of the Bombay detachment, and the recruits lately arrived, should immediately march and take Mauphus Cawn under their escort. All this was agreed to, and the party marched accordingly.

MORAROW, on some dispute between him and the Maissoreans, had crossed the Coleroon before the 12th of May, as I have before observed. He repassed it to perform that exploit against the Tanjore troops; and having struck the severe blow aforementioned, he returned to the other side of the Coleroon again, and continued at a distance from the Maissore camp. He then proposed to the Nabob, that if the payment of three lack of roupees could be secured to him, he would return to his own country, and never more be an enemy to him, the English, or the Tanjoreans. The Nabob having no money, applied to the King of Tanjore, and after a great many meetings, it was agreed to, and the articles drawn up and signed. In the mean time, Morarow gave Nanderauze to understand, that he was in treaty with the Nabob, but that if he would pay him the money then due, he would return to his assistance. Nanderauze sent him all the money he could spare; and Morarow finding there was no chance for more from that quarter, agreeable to his treaty with the Nabob, marched off. Part of the money was paid by the King of Tanjore on his going, the rest to be paid on his arrival in his own country.

ANOTHER detachment came from Davecotah, commanded by captain Zeigler, consisting of about eighty Europeans and Topasses, and four hundred sepoy. As my health was much impaired, and therefore my continuing with the army very precarious, the governor and council, at my request, sent captain

tain Kilpatrick a major's commission, and consented to his succeeding to the command, if I should be obliged to leave it. I was not a little chagrined to find the Tanjore troops so long assembling, being anxious to march. The enemy were now again encamped on the plain, and had so closely beset Trichinopoly, that our communication was quite cut off. At last Monagee set up his standard, and joining us on the 25th, we marched. My intentions were to have proceeded directly to Trichinopoly; but in a council of war next day, I found Monagee unwilling to proceed, till we were joined by our other party, who were escorting Mauphus Cawn. With all the reasons I made use of, I could not convince him of the necessity of an immediate march. We were therefore obliged to wait; but on these conditions only, that he should in the interim collect a magazine of grain equal to the consumption in Trichinopoly, to enable us, on our arrival, to replace what had been spent in our absence.

MAUPHUS CAWN was then advanced as far as Fort St. David, where, contrary to his agreement, he wanted all his money before he passed the Coleroon, and even said that this would not be sufficient to pay his troops, insisting on a further sum. Finding he trifled with us, I ordered captain Forbes not to wait for him, but to join me with his Bombay detachment, and our recruits, as expeditiously as possible, which he completed on the 14th. The 15th I reviewed the army, which consisted of about twelve hundred men in battalion, three thousand sepoy, and fourteen pieces of cannon. Monagee had with him two thousand five hundred horse, three thousand infantry, and some field pieces. On the 16th we marched, and the 17th reached Trichinopoly.

1754.

THE enemy had been joined the night before by two hundred Europeans, and their whole body appeared on the plain in order of battle; their battalion and sepoy with the Sugar Loaf Rock on their right, and the cavalry on their left. I ordered our advanced guard to take possession of a bank which commanded the entrance to the plain. As we advanced, the enemy began to cannonade. When I had passed the bank, we formed, and faced the enemy. Monagee's troops made up the second line, and covered our baggage and provisions. The enemy kept moving on; and we likewise, our cannon answering theirs. We expected nothing but an engagement, and were not a little surprized, at once, to see their battalion go to the right about, their cannon drawing off, and the whole retreating very regularly. They killed us a captain and fifteen men, and suffered themselves something more. The enemy had another party of Topasies and sepoy marching to join them from the island, which when perceived by major Kilpatrick, he sallied out with part of his garrison, and obliged them, after a severe cannonade, to retire to the island.

WE halted next day to refresh our men, and to put our heavy baggage into the fort, resolving not to give the enemy rest, till they had quitted the plain. They had the first day gone to the Five Rocks, but on our marching to the Fakeer's Tope, they moved off, and encamped at Moutahillenour. We followed them, and in the night they thought proper to cross the river, and encamp behind their Pagodas on the island. We then retook our post off Elmiferam, and sent a detachment to cover the King of Tanjore's workmen, repairing the bank near Koiladdy, the enemy having also abandoned that place.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time our fleet, under the command of admiral Watfon, arrived with colonel Adlercroon's regiment, and the French ships had brought Mr. Godeheu, commissary-general and governor-general of all their settlements, with fifteen hundred Europeans. Upon his arrival he wrote to Mr. Saunders, to acquaint him with his inclination to pursue pacific measures, introducing his proposals for a suspension of arms, by sending back the troops which Mr. Dupleix had caused to be stopped in their passage from Madras to Fort St. David. The governor and council, pleased to find they had now to deal with a person who appeared to concur with them in pursuing the true interest of the two commercial companies, were not long in sending their answer, and both sincerely labouring to hasten the conclusion of an event so much to be wished. A suspension of arms was agreed on, and actually took place on the 11th of October, 1754; after which Mr. Palk and Mr. Vanfittart were sent to Pondicherry, and returned with the following treaty and the truce.

*ARTICLES of a provincial Treaty, concluded and agreed on between us Thomas Saunders, Esq; President for the Honourable English Company on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, Governor of Fort St. George, &c. and the Sieur Charles Robert Godeheu, Commissary for his most Christian Majesty; Commander General of all the settlements of the French Company on both sides the Cape of Good Hope, and at China; President of all the councils there established, and Director General of the India Company of France.*

#### ARTICLE I.

The two companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any difference that may arise between the princes of the country.

All places, except those which shall be stipulated in the definitive treaty, to remain in the possession of the two aforesaid nations, French and English, shall be delivered up to the Moors.

II. In the Tanjore country, the English shall possess Davecotah, and the French Karical; each with their present districts.

III. On the Coromandel coast, the French shall possess Pondicherry, the districts of which are to be specified in the definitive Treaty. The English shall possess Fort St. George and Fort St. David, with the districts likewise to be specified.

The French shall form a limited settlement, the situation of which shall be chosen between Nizampatam, and the river of Gondecama exclusively; as an equivalent for the difference there is between Davecotah, and Fort St. David together, compared with Karical.

Or else,

The districts of Pondicherry shall be made equal to those of Fort St. George and Fort St. David together, and in this case the French shall abandon the Point D'Appuy, proposed above. The alternative shall be left to the determination of the two companies.

IV. Mazulipatam and Divy shall be neuter, leaving to the two companies the choice of making a partition; each nation shall have a house for commerce at Mazulipatam, with an equal number of soldiers to guard it, in case the town should remain neuter. Divy shall be delivered to the English, if the French reserve Mazulipatam. And if the French keep Divy, the English shall have Mazulipatam. In these two last cases, equal districts shall be annexed to the possessions.

V. The navigation of Narzapore river shall be free; the English may carry their settlement upon the banks of the said river, or keep Bandermalanka; but they shall possess only

only one of those two places: the French shall have a settlement on the same river. The districts shall be equal between the two nations. 1754.

VI. The entrance of Ingeram river shall be free, neither the French nor the English shall possess the islands of Coringe and Yellacatippa. The English shall have their factory at Suncrapollam, with its districts, and a warehouse at Ncllepely, the fortifications of which shall be razed. The French shall have their factory at Yanam, with districts equal to those of Suncrapollam, and they shall be at liberty to have a warehouse on the Terra Firmâ in case they judge it necessary, for the convenience and ease of their trading business.

VII. In the Chickakul country, as the English have Vizagapatam, the French may settle a factory where they please, to the southward of Pondemarka, or the northward of Bimlepatam, whether at Ganjam or Masoubunder, on an equality with Vizagapatam.

VIII. These conditions accepted on both sides, although they are not to be a law for a definitive treaty in Europe, they shall nevertheless produce a truce between the two nations and their allies, until news is received in India of the answers made in Europe concerning this agreement; which answers we promise bonâ fide to communicate to each other as soon as they shall be arrived by the ships of either nation.

IX. Neither nation shall be allowed to procure, during the truce, any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments. It shall only be lawful to rebuild and repair the fortifications now subsisting in the establishments they possess at this time, in order to prevent their entire ruin.

X. Until the arrival of answers from Europe to these articles, which shall be dispatched thither by the first ships, to be submitted to the decision of the two companies, under the pleasure and approbation of the two crowns, the two nations shall not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they now possess, every thing being to remain on the footing of uti possidetis.



1754. XI. With regard to the indemnification, the two nations may expect for the expences of the war; this article shall be amicably adjusted in the definitive treaty.

Done at Fort St. George, Decemb. 31, 1754.

(L. S.) (Signed) THOMAS SAUNDERS.

(In English and French) Under the English)

(L. S.) (Signé) GODEHEU.

(Under the French)

Examined with the original, and attested to be a true copy.

Dated at Pondichery,  
Dec. 26, 1754.

HENRY VANSITTART. } Secretaries:  
JOS. DU PRE.

*ARTICLES and Stipulations of a Truce, concluded between us Thomas Saunders, Esq; President, &c. &c. &c. and the Sieur Charles Robert Godeheu, Commissary, &c. &c. &c. in virtue of a provision treaty which we have signed the same day, to promote the re establishment of tranquillity in this part of India.*

#### ARTICLE I.

To take place on the 11th of January, 1755; the day of the expiration of the suspension of arms, proclaimed the 11th of October, 1754; all hostilities shall cease between the English and French.

II. During this truce, which shall be in force until we are informed in India of the answers made in Europe concerning the said provisional treaty; the troops of the two nations, French and English, shall not act against each other, either as principals or auxiliaries.

III. The two nations, English and French, engage to oblige their allies to observe all that is stipulated for the accom-

complishment of the truce by virtue of the treaty; and whoever shall dare to infringe it shall be reputed a common enemy, and shall be reduced to good order by the force of arms.

1754.

IV. If either of the two nations, French or English, or either auxiliary troops or allies, shall commit any act of hostility, possess themselves of any place, or any one shall cause any damage to another during the said truce; both oblige themselves to make reparation proportionable to the damage, and to the entire restitution of whatever shall be taken.

V. If the allies or other troops in pay of either nation, shall be guilty of any act of hostility, or commit any pillages in the territories whereof either nation is now in possession, it shall be lawful for both nations to repulse their insults by force, by which the injured nation shall not be deemed to have infringed the present agreement.

VI. If the allies or auxiliary troops, of either nation, shall take up arms and insult the countries of which the nation they are allied to is now in possession; in this case, the two nations shall assist each other against this enemy, who shall thereby become the common enemy of both.

VII. The troops of the two nations shall be employed, during this truce, in the care of their present establishments and possessions; they may be transported freely, and without any difficulty, from one place to another, at the pleasure of the governour, generals, commanders, &c. of each nation; and all persons actually under the protection of either flag, may likewise go and come at pleasure, without being molested either in their effects or persons.

VIII. Trade shall be free throughout the Carnatick, and in all the countries to the northward of the Coromandel coast, for the two contracting nations; they may fetch merchandizes from all the places in the dependence of each other, and transport them freely, without any restraint, through the respective jageers and territories.

IX. All common enemies, or the particular enemies of either nation, who shall come to attack the English and French in their present possessions, and trouble the tranquillity which is to reign in India, shall be repulsed by the united force of the two nations, French and English.

1754.

X. As soon as the truce is proclaimed, the mutual exchange of prisoners shall be set about, man for man; and means shall be resolved on for the ease of those which shall not be exchanged.

XI. Commissaries shall be appointed on both sides, to examine into the infringements committed by each party, or their auxiliary troops or allies, and settle the restitution to be made of all the places taken, during the truce, against the tenour of the suspension of arms; as likewise of all that may have been taken from them by the said auxiliary troops, in merchandizes, effects, money, &c. and farther, to settle in a fixed method, for a guide, during the whole time of the truce, all the names, and the extent of every country, paragona \* and village, under the power, and in the possession of the two nations, English and French.

XII. It is agreed, that whenever, in the course of the truce, any complaint shall be made by either of the said nations of an infringement of the 4th article, the said commissaries on each side appointed, shall certify and examine the fact, that justice may be done accordingly to the injured nation, either by restitution or reparation, according to the nature of the injury received.

Dated at Pondicherry, Dec. 26, 1754. Done at Fort St. George, Dec. 31, 1754.  
Signed as before.

*Additional Articles and Stipulations to the foregoing Truce.*

A R T I C L E I.

If any nation should attempt to erect a settlement within the bounds of the present possessions of either of the two companies; both English and French shall jointly oppose and hinder any such undertaking.

II. The custom-houses and † juncans shall remain on the same footing as before the war; and no alteration shall be made in the duties paid on the importation and exportation of goods of the produce or manufacture of the coast.

Dated at Pondicherry, Jan. 4. 1755. Done at Fort St. George, Dec. 31, 1754.  
Signed as before.

\* A Paragona is any district of country.

† A Juncan is a toll duty on every thing that passes.

T R A N S-

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# TRANSACTIONS

## ON THE

### COAST of COROMANDEL,

In the YEAR 1755.

**T**HE SUSPENSION OF ARMS was accompanied <sup>1755.</sup> with another event of great importance to the tranquillity of India, the departure of Mr. Dupleix, who being removed from the government, returned with the next ships for Europe.

HERE it may be proper to take a view of the several provinces and governments of the Deckan, their present interests and designs. This will not be a mere recapitulation of what has been said in the Narrative; for as the Princes of that country are continually agitated by the passions of avarice, ambition and jealousy; they are every moment prompted by suspicion or the love of intrigue, to enter into new quarrels, form different connexions, and by their restless and uncertain spirit, create the utmost perplexities to their allies. Fond of compliment, ceremonial and repeated professions of friendship, they have little regard for truth or gratitude; nor have they any consideration for the future more than the past, solely occupied with what they imagine will advance their present views. This character of the

1755. Asiaticks in general will be exemplified by a review of the present situation and designs of the several powers of the Deckan, as they appeared in the year 1755.

SALABATZING was induced by his incapacity and sloth, to submit himself entirely to the counsels of the French for the sake of their protection and assistance. Bound by no ties of affection, he was now meditating the removal of those very persons with whom he had so lately been sharing the greatest power and wealth, without the least regard to their having assisted him in that usurpation.

THE KING OF TANJORE, a subtle Prince, lived in a continual jealousy of the English and French, who had both settlements in his dominions, well knowing that either of these singly was able to give law to him, and always apprehending most from the side to which the balance of power seemed to incline. From a diffidence of the French, and a better opinion of the English faith, he had, for the most part, shewn a regard for our alliance, but it required great address to manage his irresolution, to divert his partiality for a treacherous favourite, and keep him firm to his engagements. His most dangerous neighbours were the Maissoreans, a rich people, and formidable from their being undisturbed at home. He knew they had long formed designs against Trichinopoly, and at this very time, were in treaty with the French for that end. The knowledge of this determined him to enter into the strictest bands of friendship with us, and yet, at the same time, his suspicion of our entering into any alliance with the governor of Marava, (a country bordering on his dominions to the south), threw him into the most precipitate resolution of carrying fire and sword into that country. It was in vain to remonstrate to him, that so rash a proceeding would

would only facilitate the designs of the Maissorean, by leaving Trichinopoly defenceless. The Maravar was the present object of his jealousy. 1755.

TONDEMAN, a Polygar, whose woods, adjoining to Tanjore, had been an useful protection to our convoys during the war, was also uneasy at our sup-  
posed intentions of alliance with the Maravar.

THE KING OF MAISSORE, young, and in a manner confined to his seraglio, gave up the direction of affairs to his uncle, who was prime minister and brother to Nanderauze. They were both, at this time, pursuing their scheme on Trichinopoly, in which they suffered so many repulses, and saw their extravagant projects so often defeated, that they were ready to seize any pretext for abandoning their enterprize. They soon relinquished it on good reasons, and from thenceforth became less formidable neighbours to the King of Tanjore.

MOOTIS ALLEE CAWN, governor of Velloure, a powerful and designing man, had the address to murder two Nabobs with impunity; and during this long war, to keep himself clear of its calamities. Mr. Dupleix used to call him his deputy in his province. Though no confidence could be placed in the friendship of this artful man, it was imprudent to have him for an enemy; therefore his offers to acknowledge the Nabob were gladly accepted, but there was little sincerity in his professions of submission.

THE MARATTAS have always had so considerable a share in the disturbances, and were at this time taking so large a part in the politicks of these countries, that it is requisite, for the explanation of the affairs of the peninsula, to give as many particulars of this extensive people as can be ascertained: for as

1754. they have no written history, and scarce any tradition, that we know, of their former state, it is impossible to procure a full and satisfactory account of so numerous a nation, once settled, then dispersed, and now re-establishing themselves throughout all parts of the Mogul's empire: a people who have had, from time immemorial, settlements to the north of Delly, great part of which they still possess, though so great were the numbers that were driven out from thence, by Aurenzeb, that he employed above twenty years in fruitless endeavours to reduce them in their new settlements in the mountainous parts of the Deckan.

THEY have had continued wars ever since, with all the Moguls, Soubahs and governors, and made innumerable treaties of peace with them, which they never observe any longer than they think it their interest. They have themselves had strange internal revolutions; and what is most strange, the present governing men among them are Bramins or priests, hated by the true Marattas, but followed by them for pay.

THEIR Raja, or Prince, is sacred: and they hold that he ought to be a kind of idol, shut up and fed at the public expence, and the executive power lodged in some other branch of his family, at least, such has been the establishment on the Malabar coast: but this was subverted by the usurpation of the two Bramins, the one called Peelagee, and the other Budgetrow. Peelagee governed Guzarat, and Budgetrow the country to the southward. His son, who succeeded him, is known by his name Balazerow, on the Coromandel coast: On the Malabar he is called the Nanna, for that is the title by which the acting head of the government and general of the forces is distinguished. The nominal Prince, or the idol, as he has been

been described, is stiled Ram Raja, Mar Raja, and Saha Raja. All these names, indiscriminately used and strangely spelt, occasion no small difficulty to the reader, who is here also desired to take notice, that though all writers speak of Sattaarah as the capital of the Marattas country, the residence of the Bramin their sovereign is \* Poona, where all the business of the government is carried on. 1755.

WHAT proves that they have formerly been powerful over all the Mogul's empire, though now divided, is the universal acknowledgment of the *Chout*, or tribute paid to them of a fourth of the revenues of every Raja or governor. This they still collect in all parts, taking what they can get of it in ready money, and leaving the balance in arrear, which will serve them at least as a pretence for another incursion, whenever they want employment for their troops.

IT may seem strange that these Marattas, who are Bramins, and so strict observers of the Gentou religion and the tenets of the Transmigration of souls, that they will never kill the most offensive animals that crawl about them, should, without any scruple, eagerly employ their sabres to the destruction of their fellow-creatures. The salvo for this extraordinary contradiction is a device of their priests, who, by the sacrifice of a Buffalo, with many mysterious and enthusiastick ceremonies, absolve their warriors from the restrictions which bind the vulgar.

IT should be here observed, that the Marattas, mentioned so often in the Narrative, were only a body of horse, freebooters, who alternately took the

\* Poona is about a hundred miles east-south-east of Bombay. D'Anville says, the situation of Sattaarah is not ascertained, and therefore he has not put it in his map.



1755. pay of the highest bidder. They were such as Morarow had picked up to follow his fortunes, and till he attempted to make himself independent, they had no settled habitation, and no profession but war, if it may be called a profession where they have neither art nor discipline, and yet they are formidable to the Moors, who carrying such numerous and incumbered armies to the field, are the easier harrassed, and even starved by them. For these pillagers, continually galloping round the country, cut off the convoys, and as most of their parties carry with them neither baggage, nor provisions, they easily elude all pursuit, and in an instant retire to their fastnesses, or even, if occasion requires, to their own country. They ride a hardy horse inured to fatigue, and for the most part fed with standing corn. The common men have no cloathing but a turban on their head, and a sash round their waist: instead of a saddle they use such a kind of pad as is recommended by Marshal Saxe. Truly formidable with their sabres, they are fatal to troops that are once broke.

THE Marattas, though not without trade and manufactures, have principally enriched themselves, by obliging the wealthy and more respectable powers, their neighbours, to be tributary to them. It will naturally be asked, why do the opulent states submit to be tributary? and what security have they that these licentious plunderers will abide by their agreements, and not continually encroach upon them, and raise their demands? The reason is plain: it is less expensive, and a lighter tax upon trade, to agree to some certain payment, than to engage in the unknown expence of armies, to free themselves from so irregular a foe: and as to greater exactions, if the Chief has once settled the *Chout*, he will hardly venture to struggle for more, as the money agreed on goes into his own pocket; and were

were he to proceed to the more violent method of compulsion, by invading the country, the spoil would all become the property of his troops, under the article of plunder, and his own share would come very short of the sum stipulated; besides, they have the prudence to consider, that a country ravaged by their troops, will produce neither tribute nor plunder again for some time.

1755.

THEY are a destructive foe and an unserviceable friend. They ruin their enemies by burning their country, and their allies by their avaricious demands for money. Instead of meriting their pay, which they might easily do after a defeat, by cutting off all the broken troops, they fly to the camp, where every man procures a good burden for his horse, and walking on foot, drives him away loaded with the spoil.

SUCH has been, in a great measure, the state of the Maratta people; but about this time it will appear, that they entertained various designs of extending their territories in several parts of the country, and also on the sea coast. They took large districts from the Viceroy of the Deckan, marched to Dclly and made a Mogul, and after driving out Angria by our strength, beat the Portugueze by their own. They had generals who set up for themselves in the remote countries that they had conquered, and were giving some other indications of their return from a vagabond life of rapine and disorder, to a more settled system of policy.

OF all the Princes of the Deckan, there are none so free from the faults of the country as the Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn; having always experienced the invariable friendship of the English, he has been taught the true value of honour and constancy, and throughout

1755. throughout his conduct, manifested uncommon gratitude and fidelity to his engagements. The sums we had expended in the support of his cause, instead of raising in him the expectation of being farther burthened to us, lay like a heavy weight upon his mind; and the distress he was in for money, with the impossibility of paying any considerable part of his debt to the Company, visibly affected his health: his brothers who accompanied him, having a separate command, would each of them keep up as many attendants, and as large an expence as the Nabob himself. Exhausted by this unnecessary profusion, he was not able to furnish the workmen and materials with which he had engaged to supply our engineers for completing their fortifications, nor even to find money for his own troops to prevent them from disbanding. Upon consideration of this state of the Nabob's affairs, it was prudently determined to take an exact account of his revenues, which were mortgaged to the Company, in order to judge what sums might be actually forth-coming for their use, after a due proportion should be allotted for the maintenance of himself, and the support of his dignity.

It was at the same time recommended to him, to settle as soon as possible at Arcot, his capital, with all his family, as well to save expence, by reducing their several retinues to one household, as for the credit of his government. But it was of great consequence to his revenues, before he left the countries of Madura and Tinevelly, which used to produce an immense income, to collect the tribute which had not been paid during the troubles, and also to induce the several Polygars, and all subordinate governors to acknowledge the Nabob's right, by receiving grants from him for the countries they held under his government.

IT was necessary on this, as on all other occasions, to have at hand a sufficient force; for in this country, we are to look upon an army as a proper formality usually attending a message to a friend, a subject, or an enemy. From these considerations, an expedition was ordered into the Madura and Tinevelly countries to collect the revenues, under the command of Alexander Heron, lieutenant colonel in his Majesty's service, and major of the Company's forces, attended by Mr. Maunfell, to act together with the Nabob's Vakeel, (or agent) as commissaries for the administration of the monies received. Colonel Heron, the latter end of January 1755, marched to Manaper, a village about thirty miles from Trichinopoly. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by the Vakeels of four neighbouring Polygars, who came to settle their accounts, promising soon to pay the ballances that were due; they also signed a paper, acknowledging themselves under the Nabob's government, independent of any other power whatsoever; and that they enjoyed their lands in right of his grants only. At the same time the Nabob received letters of the like purport from the three principal men in the Madura and Tinevelly countries. But upon the return of the officers, one of the four Polygars, by name Lachynaig, who had paid part of his tribute, and given a bill for the rest, refused to pay the remainder; wherefore, at the instance of the Nabob, colonel Heron, on the 10th of February, moved with the army close to a fort, which was one of the barriers of his country. All that day and the next he endeavoured, both by fair means and threats, to make him comply, but could get no satisfactory answer. He then determined to attack the fort the next morning, in which he succeeded with little loss: and also the same day took another fort, which gave him possession of all the country of that Polygar, except the tops of the hills,

1755. where the inhabitants had taken shelter. In these two affairs he lost fourteen sepoy and some few colleries.

HERE the Nabob left colonel Heron, and his brother Mauphus Cawn accompanied him in the expedition. The roads were excessive bad through the woods for the carriage of the heavy cannon. Some breast-works thrown up in the narrow passes, were abandoned on the army's nearer approach, though not till part of the sepoy had given their fire, which was returned, but without any effect. Beyond the woods was a stone-fort, which, had it been quite finished, would have been of considerable strength for that part of the country. The Madura people who were fortifying it, abandoned it immediately. There was found in this fort some grain, ammunition, and four pieces of cannon. The colonel left some troops in possession, and advanced towards the town of Madura; upon which the garrison retired a little farther into the country, to a small fort, whither they carried their most valuable effects, and military stores. The greater part of the inhabitants remained, and seemed very well satisfied with the change of government. Being then the season for gathering in the grain, and collecting the revenues, it was resolved to quarter the army there. Madura is a strong Indian town, encompassed with a wall like Trichinopoly, but being of much greater extent, would require a very large garrison to defend it.

COLONEL Heron, having wrote circular letters to all the neighbouring Polygars, as well as to the people of Tinevelly, marched for the fort to which Myana, the late governor of Madura, had retired. It was a strong Pagoda, which he had fortified in the best manner he could, but on the expectation of an attack, he and all his horse secured themselves by a timely retreat, and carried with him his elephants, camels,

camels, treasure, and the greatest part of his valuable effects; he left a few sepoy to defend the fort, who fired very briskly for some time, but on our returning it with cannon and small arms, they surrendered. Here were found three brass and iron cannon, a number of Malabar guns, and a great quantity of ammunition. After taking two other small forts, the army marched for Tinevelly, and arrived the 25th; some of the Polygars came in, others sent their Vakeels to settle every thing amicably.

1755.

THE greatest difficulty arose from the good inclinations of the Polygar of Marava. He offered a free passage through his country for the English troops, employed his interest with the other Polygars, and sent his brother, who advanced within five miles of the army, with three thousand men and some pieces of cannon, tendering his service, and pressing us to make settlements in his country. The news of this caused so great a jealousy, and worked upon the King of Tanjore and Tondeman, in such a manner, that they sent a protest against our treating with the Maravar, and even raised forces, and were actually marching into his country; Monagee, it seems, while out of favour, had received some personal affronts from the Maravar: this might be in fact the insuperable difficulty; but the reason given out was the friendship that had subsisted between the Maravar and the Maissoreans; but at this critical time, the very fear of the Maissorean was a reason for letting all present jealousies subside: therefore all endeavours to mollify the King of Tanjore and Tondeman being vain, orders were dispatched to colonel Heron, to break off all further treaty with the Maravar.

At the same time, advice being received of the approach of Salabatzing, with Mr. de Buffy, the  
army

1755. army was ordered to return as soon as possible to Trichinopoly. The news of Salabatzing's march was true, but it had not the consequence that was apprehended; for he entered Maissore, where he levied the revenues of that rich province, and returned, carrying with him fifty-two Lack of roupees. Messrs. de Buffy and Law were both with him; the latter made a demand in the name of the French Company for seven lack for the loss he had sustained when he was taken in Seringam. The money was refused, and at Mr. de Buffy's request, Mr. Law desisted from his demand.

COLONEL Heron had very little advanced the company's affairs by his conduct at Madura and Tinevelly. The monies he collected did not amount to the charges of the expedition, and the terror of his arms was so little respected in the country, that Myana, the late governor of Madura, having cut off a party that was sent to surprize him, had the boldness to come to the very gates of Tinevelly while the army was there, and plunder the villages round. The colonel having received his orders, set out the 22d of May, and in his way, at the desire of Mauphus Cawn, invested a fort, which for want of heavy cannon, he was obliged to leave and continue his march to Madura, where he arrived the 21st of May. He left it the 28th, and calling at Colguddy Pagoda, seized a large number of religious images, and demanded five thousand roupees for their ransom, which being refused, he put them into his tumbrils, and was carrying them off. The Colleries were easily infligated by the Bramins to rescue their gods; and taking the opportunity when the baggage was passing some strong defiles in the Natam woods, they rushed from the thickets in great numbers, recovered their idols, destroyed several carriages, stabbed a hundred bullocks, killed some


some men, and carried off a quantity of baggage. 1755. The army pursued their march, without any thing farther to be remarked, till they reached Trichinopoly the 6th of June. Colonel Heron was tried by a court martial for misconduct in this expedition. It was proved that he had given in false accounts, had secreted part of the money received, and for this purpose, instead of collecting the revenues in concert with Mr. Maunsel, had entered into a private agreement with the Nabob's brother, Mauphus Cawn, and farmed out the countries to him at half their value, not paying a regard to the instructions sent him by the Nabob himself.

TRICHINOPOLY being looked upon as the main security for the Nabob's debt, colonel Heron was ordered to leave there a garrison of five hundred men, under the command of major Kilpatrick. Nanderauze, the Maissorean general, who lay encamped near the town, was continually practising every kind of stratagem, and contriving the most chimerical designs to make himself master of it. He employed a Bramin in the town, who constantly sent him intelligence, and gained him some friends in the place, and having prepared four hundred ladders, and concerted every thing for an escalade in the night, he made a proposal to Mr. De Sauflay, commander of the French at Seringam, to join him in the attempt. Mr. De Sauflay, expressing his sense of so treacherous a proceeding in the time of a suspension of arms, Nanderauze urged him with repeated solicitations, and even offered him three lack of roupées, provided he would feign a quarrel, march off, and thereby leave him at liberty to pursue his designs. Mr. De Sauflay having rejected these offers with disdain, was soon after informed by a friend he had in that general's councils, that in case of his refusal, the next project was to surprize the French, and en-

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deavour



1755.  deavour to cut them off. He wrote to major Kilpatrick to send him a trusty person, to whom he communicated the whole, and moreover assured him, that in case the Maissorean made an motion towards the town, he would immediately attack his rear, and make a signal on the sight of which the major might fall, and put the enemy between two fires.

WHILE the French and English chiefs were interchanging their assurances of mutual assistance against this Indian politician, he suddenly decamped and hastened his march home, not altogether, as some imagined, from disappointment, but rather from having received accounts of the march of Salabatzing towards his country. Soon after his return, he stirred up a rebellion, which threw the kingdom of Maissore into confusion.

THE enemy being removed, and no farther obstacle remaining to delay the necessary measure of conducting the Nabob to his capital, a proper escort was ordered: and captain Polier having prepared every thing for that purpose, they began their march the 9th of July, and proceeding in the slow manner which the burthensome pomp of eastern state must always occasion, arrived at Conder, and forded the Cauvery on the 16th. They halted the next day, and Monagee, with a numerous train, paid the Nabob a visit. At this interview, the strongest protestations of an inviolable friendship were made on both sides. Monagee assured the Nabob, most particularly, from the King of Tanjore, that he would never forsake him, and had five thousand horse ready at his order, if he needed them in the Arcot country. The Nabob having thanked Monagee for the promised aids and for his love and friendship, which he always relied on, at the same time whispered captain Polier in English, *'Tis all a lie.* The captain took up

up the discourse, assuring Monagee that the English, as they had hitherto constantly supported the Nabob, would continue their protection to him, as also their friendship inviolably with the King of Tanjore, so long as he remained firm to the Nabob. Monagee declared the King of Maissire had offered his King sixty lack of roupces, provided he would forsake the Nabob, but he rejected the proposal. With a few more civilities, and some useful orders about provisions, Monagee concluded his visit.

The Nabob continuing his march, arrived within a mile of Arcot the 19th of August, where he resolved to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city. Here he was met by colonel Lawrence, Mr. Palk, and Mr. Walth, deputed to invite him to Madrafs. He readily consented, and at the same time desired those gentlemen to mention aloud at his Durbar, that now the army was arrived there, the Polygars and his other tributaries should be first invited to settle accounts, and pay off their arrears, but that if they did not comply without delay, they should be forced to it. As they were sensible this must have a good effect, they took an opportunity of doing it at a full assembly, in which, among the rest, Abdiel Vahob Cawn, and the governor of Velloure's Vakeel were present.

ON the 21st the Nabob made his entry into Arcot in a very splendid manner, and the 30th he visited Madrafs, and was received at the Company's garden-house by the governor, the admirals Watton and Pocock, and most of the gentlemen of the place. During his stay there, the proper measures were concerted for collecting his revenues, and towards the latter end of October he set out for that purpose, accompanied by major Kilpatrick with a detachment of three hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred se-

1755. poys, together with Mr. Perceval, who was appointed commissary general for the company. He was also to be present at every transaction, it being agreed with the Nabob, that half the money to be collected from the several Polygars should be paid to himself, and the other half to the Company.

To enter into an exact detail of their proceedings with the several petty Polygars, would be very tiresome and uninteresting to most readers. Therefore, not to take up their time with a catalogue of uncouth names, which will never occur again in the subsequent relation of these affairs, it shall suffice to say, that from the 20th of October to the end of the year 1755, the army was either encamped or in motion about the district of Arcot; and that the Polygars and governors, in proportion to the remoteness or strength of their little forts, were more or less backward in settling their accounts, and all dealt evasively. No hostilities were however committed against any of them, although it was a considerable time before some of them came to such terms as the Nabob would accept, and several held out beyond the end of the year; but those being the least able to continue their opposition, were left to be reduced by the forces of the Nabob.

MOOTIS ALLEE CAWN having been mentioned in the Narrative, and his character display'd within a few pages, a particular detail of his conduct shall here be given; as it will fully serve to convey a general idea of the chicanery of all Asiatic governors, as well Moors as Indians, when called upon for the arrears of their tribute.

THIS crafty politician having the mortification to find himself outwitted by Mr. Dupleix, addressed himself to the Nabob, who was then, it is to be ob-

served, at a distance, acknowledging his right, and offering to settle the tribute due from him for the district of Velloure. He attested the sincerity of his intentions with his hand on the Alcoran, calling God and the Prophet to witness to his truth. But when the Nabob, upon his arrival at Arcot, sent to claim the performance of these solemn engagements, it too plainly appeared, that they were meant only to amuse and deceive him: it was therefore thought necessary to strike a terror into him for an example, as, both in riches and power, he was the most considerable of all the chiefs in the province. Accordingly, on the 19th of January, 1756, the army was reinforced with the grenadiers, and another company, with two eighteen-pounders, was detached after them. Major Kilpatrick advanced within five miles of Velloure the 30th; and found it to be, as it had been reported, the strongest fort in the province.

THE next day the Governor of Madras received a letter from Mr. De Leyrit, disputing the Nabob's right to Velloure, and threatening to oppose all our proceedings; and intelligence came, at the same time, that a party of three hundred French and three hundred sepoys, were actually marching from Pondicherry. These advices were dispatched the same night to Major Kilpatrick, with directions to continue negotiations with Mootis Allee Cawn; and, in case the French should actually approach, to send a message to the commanding officer to retire, and if he should pay no regard to the message, but proceed to succour Velloure, or commit any disturbance in the Nabob's districts, then to oppose him by force. Major Kilpatrick had advanced within cannon shot of the fort when these dispatches reached him; and, during several days that he remained in his encampment treating with the Governor, different advices came of parties moving from Pondicherry and Villi-

1755.

nour to Gingee, and from thence, by the Chetteput road, towards Velloure. It was, therefore, to be apprehended, that the Governor might be prevailed on by the French to admit their troops, for the defence of his fort; and these, if once admitted, it was foreseen, would not be withdrawn again from so valuable a possession. The Governor had sent his Vakeel to Madras, where he was at this very time, to desire that some English gentleman might be sent to Velloure, with power to settle affairs amicably.

THE reduction of the fort was now, by the interposition of the French, rendered impracticable, and the stay of the army, with any other object but that of an accommodation, a useless expence: it was therefore resolved to accede to the proposal of the Vakeel, and a proper person was accordingly deputed. While this measure was prudently concerting at Madras, Mootis Allee Cawn, finding that our army remained close to his walls, notwithstanding all the motions of the French, agreed with major Kilpatrick to pay one hundred thousand pagodas, and twenty-five thousand roupees, for the removal of our troops, desired to enter into friendship with us, and, by way of earnest, sent out twenty thousand roupees.

No sooner was this money paid, than Mootis Allee Cawn (informed by his Vakeel that a deputation was ordered on that very day) withdrew from his engagements; and, persuaded that he might compound for less than he agreed the day before to pay to major Kilpatrick, refused the next day to comply with the terms. Whatever major Kilpatrick could urge, he would only answer, that, as a deputation was sent from Madras, he should not do business in any other way; and not only persisted obstinately in his refusal, but flatly denied his agreement made on the

9th of February. The collected army of the French lay, during all this time, encamped between Gingee and Chetteput, at the distance of about thirty-five miles from Velloure; it consisted, according to the best intelligence, of about seven hundred French, and fifteen hundred sepoy. It was therefore thought adviseable to wait for an opportunity when the governor might be in a more complying humour: and the event justified this prudent determination. Major Kilpatrick having remained near Velloure with the army till the 24th, and receiving no offers that he could accept, without establishing a precedent of the most pernicious consequence, moved that day for Arcot, where he quartered the troops. 1755.

**MOOTIS ALLEE CAWN**, after repeated evasions and delays, at last put an end to this tiresome negotiation by a compromise with the Nabob, and payment in part, without military compulsion; but not before the beginning of August, 1756. The same shuffling conduct was practised, in a degree, by all the lesser governors, who entrenched themselves for a while in the several fortresses with which this country abounds; but, in their turn, they followed the example of Mootis Allee Cawn, in his compliance; as they had attempted to imitate him, according to their abilities, in his chicanery and resistance.

**THE FLEET** having no other object during the truce, it was agreed to employ it in the reduction of a piratical state on the Malabar coast, which had for a long time infested the trade of Bombay. Admiral Watson undertook this expedition with the same zeal which he shewed on every occasion for the service of his country, and the benefit of the Company in the Indian seas.

1755. THE Admiral had failed to Trincomalay the 6th of April, chiefly to avoid the risque of bad weather during that month. On the 13th of May he returned to Fort St. David, where he remained three months, it being the windward port both to Madrafs and Pondicherry. He came to Madrafs on the 19th of August; and sailing with the whole squadron for Bombay the 10th of October, arrived there the 10th of November.

HIS force consisted of the Kent, of sixty-four guns, captain Speke; the Cumberland, of sixty-six guns, captain Harrison; the Tyger, of sixty guns, captain Latham; the Salisbury, of fifty guns, captain Knowler; the Bridgewater, of twenty guns, captain Martin; and the King's-fisher sloop, of fourteen guns, captain Smith. Rear admiral Watson's flag was hoisted on board the Kent, and rear admiral Pocock's in the Cumberland.

FOR the better understanding the purpose of this expedition, it will be necessary to explain the nature of the enemy they were going against, and by what means a small nest of pirates, as they originally were, grew to a considerable strength, and at last became a little empire, like the piratical states of Barbary.

ABOUT a hundred years since, Conojee Angria, from a private Maratta, had been employed as a general and admiral, under the Saha Raja, in his wars with the Siddee, or Mogul's admiral. Being afterwards made governor of Severndroog, upon the first favourable opportunity, he seized many of the vessels he had formerly commanded; with these he began to commit acts of piracy, confining himself, however, to this island, till he had, by repeated successes at sea, rendered himself more formidable. The Marattas

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A MAP of  
the  
Country Inhabited  
by the  
MARATTAS,  
with  
the Dominions of  
the ANGRA.  
By Thomas Jefferys Geographer  
to his M<sup>ty</sup> the S<sup>t</sup>. George  
Scale  
Eighteen & Sixty Years.

were alarmed, but had no means of getting at him in his island, he having now taken the greatest part of their fleet. They therefore built three forts upon the main, within less than point-blank shot of his little territory, which was a small, rocky, well-fortified island, of about one mile in circumference. By means of these forts they hoped to reduce him to obedience; but he having the sea open, and being much superior to his countrymen in skill and bravery, attacked and took several of their sea ports, and at length carried his conquests from Tamana to Rajapore on the sea coasts; an extent of country of near sixty leagues in length, in which are several commodious harbours. He also possessed himself of a great part of the inland country, in some places for twenty miles back, and in others thirty; securing it to himself by building little forts, upon such eminences as commanded the narrow passes and defiles. His successors strengthening themselves continually, by engaging every desperate fellow they could seduce from the European settlements, grew to be so powerful, that the Marattas thought proper to agree to a peace with them, on condition that they should acknowledge the sovereignty of the Raja, and pay him an annual tribute. Being masters of the coast, they made many considerable captures on the seas. From the English East India company (besides vessels of less note) they took the *Darby*, richly laden, from Europe, with one hundred and fifty men; and also the Restoration armed ship, of twenty guns and two hundred men, fitted out purposely to cruise against them. They took also, from the French, the *Jupiter*, of forty guns, with four hundred slaves on board; and had the presumption to attack commodore Lisle, in the *Vigilant* of sixty four guns, the *Ruby* of fifty guns, and several other ships in company, when the commodore was leaving the Malabar coast.

1755.

1755.

THE Dutch too suffered in their turn; and, about twenty years ago, in resentment, sent seven armed ships from Batavia, and two bomb-vessels, with a number of land forces, and attacked Geriah, but without success. Angria growing more and more powerful, could brook no kind of subjection, and at length threw off his allegiance to the Marattas. Upon this he received some remonstrances and threats from the Naona; but was so far from regarding them, that he ordered the ears and noses of the ambassadors who brought them to be cut off, in contempt of their Prince and his authority. Exasperated at this insult, the Marattas meditated his ruin, and repeatedly applied to the Governor and Council at Bombay, for the assistance of their marine force to extirpate him.

THE piracies of all the successors of Angria, who being of his family, still bore the same name, greatly annoyed not only the natives both by sea and land, but also all European and Moors ships, going down that coast. As they put the East India company to a continual expence in keeping a marine force at Bombay, to protect their own and all English country-ships, the destruction of so troublesome a neighbour had been the object of the government of Bombay for near fifty years, and immense sums had been expended on expeditions which hitherto had all proved fruitless. Commodore Matthews, in 1722, with his squadron and a small Portuguese army, joined the Bombay land and sea forces in an expedition against a fort called Colabley, but this was defeated by the treachery, or rather cowardice of the Portuguese, who patched up a peace with Angria; and the ships and troops returned to Bombay, except the Shoreham man of war, who had her bottom beat out on the rocks. In the year 1751, commodore Lisle being at Bombay, the Governor proposed to him the reduction

duction of Ceriah; which he promised to attempt, as the Nanna had engaged to attack the place by land, but a rupture between the Moors at Auren-gabad and the Nanna, happened at that time, which put a stop to the enterprize. The Governor being thoroughly persuaded that the most effectual way of destroying Angria, would be by the assistance of the Marattas, kept up a strict friendship with the Nanna, who assured him that he should be joined by a powerful army as soon as ever a scheme could be agreed on for the reduction of Angria's forts on the coast. Upon these assurances, a treaty with the Marattas was concluded, and articles were signed by the Nanna on his part, and by the Governor of Bombay on that of the company.

1755.  

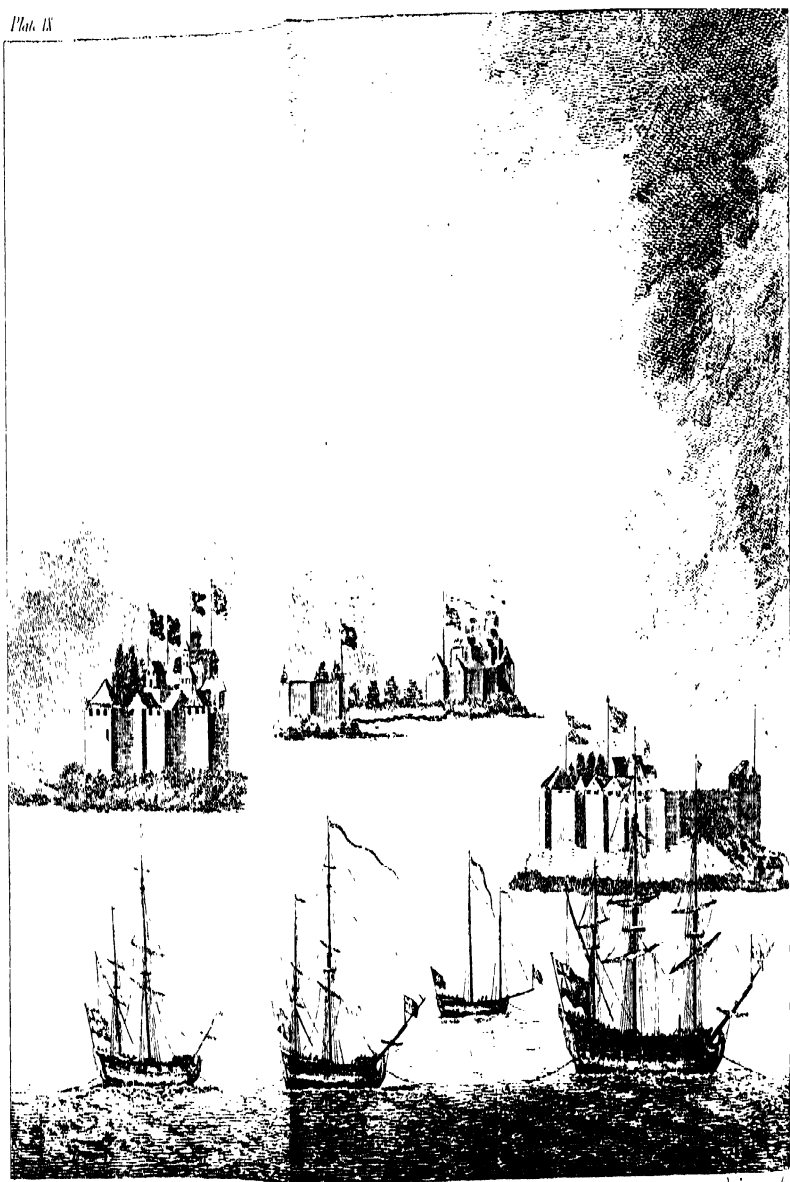

WHILE this treaty was in agitation, an event happened which shewed the necessity of carrying it into immediate execution. In February 1754, Angria's fleet attacked three Dutch ships, one of fifty, one of thirty-six, and one of eighteen guns; burnt the two former together with three of his own vessels, and took the latter. Upon this success he grew insolent, and having built several vessels, and set upon the stocks two ships, one of which was to carry forty guns, he boasted that he should soon be superior to whatever could be brought against him in the Indian seas. In the year 1755, at a time when the greatest part of the company's forces were absent on service, the Marattas notified that they were then disposed to join in the necessary business of humbling this common enemy, so formidable to the whole Malabar coast. Commodore James, who was commander in chief of their marine force in India, being then at Bombay, sailed on the 22d of March, in the Protector of forty-four guns, with the Swallow of sixteen guns, and the Viper and Triumph bomb vessels, being all the force that could be collected together at that time.

THE

1755. THE next day he saw off Rajapore seven sail of Angria's grabs, and eleven gallivats, and chased them to the southward; and the day after, the Marattas's fleet came out of Choule, and joining the commodore with seven grabs and sixty gallivats, proceeded to Commoro bay, where they landed, and trifled away thirty hours; for it is usual with them to land frequently, as they are prohibited by their religion to eat on board, and also enjoined washing, and other ceremonies, which can only be performed on shore. Landing again the next day, they received intelligence that Angria's fleet was in the harbour of Severndroog. The commodore at length brought up his dilatory associates; and immediately upon his approach, which was on the 29th, Angria's fleet split their cables, and run out to sea, the gallivats towing their larger vessels. This gave them a great advantage over our ships, as there was little wind. The chase continued from break of day till the afternoon; and it was observable, that our friends the Marattas, who being light, and built floaty for sailing large and in light gales, and who had, during all the preceding days, sailed better than any of our vessels, were now all astern, while their countrymen shewed a dexterity in their flight, which we could not but admire. They threw out every thing to lighten their vessels with amazing industry and readiness, and spreading all the sails they could crowd on the yards, they fastened to the flag-staves their garments, quilts, and even their turbans extended to catch every breath of air. By this manœuvre they gained their point, and drew the commodore so far from his station, that he was obliged to give over the chase and return to Severndroog.

THE fortress, which bore that name, was situated on an island within musket-shot of the main land, with no more than two fathom and a half in the frith.





*The Attack of Severdroy by Commodore James, 2 April 1755.*

*2d Land & Vol.*

frith. It is strongly, but not regularly fortified; the greatest part of the works being cut out of the solid rock, and the rest built with stones ten or twelve feet square; on the bastions were fifty-four guns. The largest of the forts on the main land is called Fort Goa, built in the same manner, with large square stones, and mounting forty guns. The other two mounting above twenty guns each, were constructed in a less artificial manner, with stones of an irregular shape.

ON the 2d of April, the commodore began to cannonade and bombard the island fort; but finding the walls on the side where he first made his attack, of extraordinary strength, for they were fifty feet high and eighteen thick, he moved his station so as to reach Fort Goa with his lower deck guns, while he plyed Severndroog with his upper tier. About noon, the north-east bastion of the latter, and part of the parapet were laid in ruins, when a shell set fire to the houses, which the garrison were prevented from extinguishing by the incessant fire from the round tops. The wind being northerly, communicated the fire all over the fort; one of their magazines blew up, and a general conflagration ensued. A multitude of men, women, and children, running out on the farther side of the island, embarked in boats, but were most of them taken by the Swallow, who was stationed to the southward to prevent any succours from being thrown into the island on that side. The commodore then turned all his fire on Fort Goa; and after a severe cannonade, the enemy hung out a flag of truce; but the Governor, with some chosen sepoys, crossed over to Severndroog, which was entirely evacuated upon the blowing up of their second and grand Magazine. The Governor was now in possession of the island fort, and the commodore of the other three; from whence  
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1755. he kept a smart fire on Severndroog. The Governor trusting to the natural strength of the place, was resolved to maintain it till he should receive succours from Dabul. As this appeared from all his answers to the summons and messages that were sent him, a number of seamen were landed, under cover of the fire from the ships and the shore, who resolutely ran up to the gates, and being determined to carry their point, with their axes, cut open the gate of the Sally port, and procured an entrance with very little loss.

On the 8th of April, the commodore anchored off Bancote (now called Fort Victoria) the most northern port of any consequence of all Angria's dominions, which surrendered the next day upon a summons. This place the East-India Company, having the free consent of the Marattas, have since taken into their hands, as it is a good harbour, and there is a great trade for salt and other goods, which are sent to that port from Bombay; and what is still more essential, the country about it abounds with cattle, which are much wanted for the use of the garrison and squadron at Bombay. Of all provisions, beef is the most difficult to be procured from any part of the continent; for, excepting Rajapore, which joins to Bancote, and is possessed by Mahometans (being the port of the Siddee) the coast is all inhabited by Gentoos, who never kill any living creature; and as they venerate the cow, are particularly forbid by their religion to suffer the death of any kind of cattle. As all other places were by treaty to be given up to the Marattas, the commodore caused the English flag, which had been hoisted on all the forts for a few days, to be struck on the 11th, and delivered them to be garrisoned by the Marattas. On the 14th he anchored at Dabul, with an intention to attack that place; but next morning received

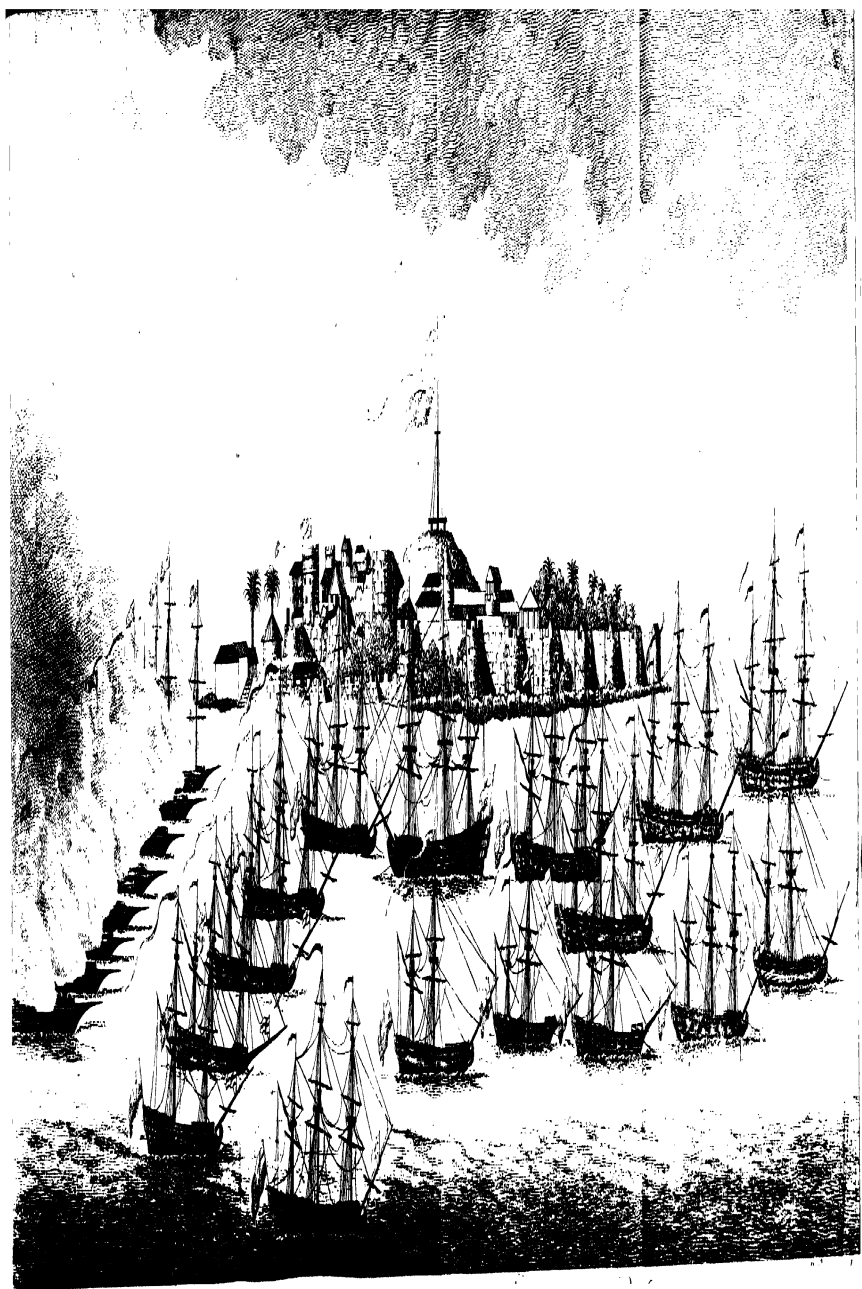
received orders to return to Bombay, as the season was thought to be too far advanced for him to attempt any thing farther. 1755.

THE Squadron under the command of rear admiral Watson, arrived at Bombay in November following: While they were cleaning and repairing, commodore James in the *Protector*, and the *Revenge* and Bombay frigates under his command, was sent to reconnoitre *Geriah*, the capital of Angria's dominions, and to sound the depths of water at the entrance of the harbour; which service he performed, and returned to Bombay the last of December. The admiral then sent the *Bridgewater* and King fisher sloop, and some of the company's armed ships, to cruize off that port, who were joined on the 27th of January, 1756, by commodore James in the *Protector*, and *Guardian* frigate, and remained on this station till the 11th of February, when the admiral and the whole squadron arrived.

UPON the appearance of the English fleet, Angria, who had flattered himself that he should never see so large a force upon the coast, was terrified to so great a degree, that he abandoned his fort in hopes of purchasing his peace with the Marattas. They knew how to make their advantage of his present situation and perturbation of mind, and immediately turned their thoughts to the riches of their prisoner; for as such they then considered him; and that they might solely possess the plunder of the place, insisted on his sending an order to his brother, who was left in command, to put them in possession of the fort. The admiral having information of these clandestine proceedings, sent a summons the next morning to the fort; and receiving no answer, he weighed in the afternoon, and stood in to the harbour in two divisions, the *Bridgewater* leading that  
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1755. of his Majesty's ships in the following order: Bridge-water, Tyger, Kent, Cumberland and Salisbury, with the Protector of forty guns, belonging to the East-India Company. The King-fisher led those of the Company, consisting of the Revenge, Bombay Grab, and Guardian frigates; the Drake, Warren, Triumph, and Viper bomb-ketches. As soon as the ships were properly placed, they began such a fire as soon silenced both the batteries and the grabs. About four o'clock a shell was thrown into the Restoration, an armed ship taken by Angria some time ago from the East-India Company, which set her on fire; and very soon after his whole fleet shared the same fate. In the night the admiral landed all the troops, under the command of colonel Clive, suspecting the enemy would endeavour to let in the Marattas; which supposition was verified by a deserter, who informed Mr. Watson, that Angria had sent orders to his brother, who commanded the garrison, on no account to suffer the English to come in. The next morning the admiral sent a message to the commandant, declaring, that if he did not, in an hour's time, deliver up the place, and let the English march in, the attack should be renewed, and he must then expect no quarter. In answer to this, he desired a cessation 'till the next morning; giving for a reason, that it was not in his power to deliver up the place without Angria's permission, which he was only waiting for.

THESE were apparently trifling pretences to gain time, and to wait for an opportunity of giving the Marattas possession of the place; therefore the admiral renewed the attack about four in the afternoon, and in less than half an hour the garrison flung out a flag of truce. It was then expected that their colours should be hauled down, and our troops admitted: but as they did not comply with this demand,





mand, the admiral repeated the attack with so terrible a fire, that the garrison cried out for mercy, which our troops were then near enough to hear distinctly; and soon after they took possession of the fort. 1755.

THE loss on both sides was very inconsiderable: our people found their safety in their own bravery and spirit, and by driving the enemy from their works with the briskness of their fire. The garrison, having once abandoned the batteries, were safe in the extraordinary height and thickness of their walls; for all their ramparts which were not hewn out of the solid rock, were built of massy stone, at least ten feet in length, laid endways; so that the greatest weight of metal made no impression, and would never have effected a breach. It is evident, therefore, that the garrison was subdued by the very terror of so unusual a fire.

THERE were found in the place upwards of two hundred guns, six brass mortars, and a very large quantity of ammunition of all kinds, and, in money and effects, above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The grabs, which were burnt, consisted of eight ketches, and one ship, besides two others which were building (one of which was to carry forty guns) and a considerable number of small vessels called gallivats.

COLONEL CLIVE, with his troops on shore, blockaded the fort; and, at the same time, by his position, prevented the Marattas from getting possession of the place in a clandestine manner; this was proved to be their design, by an offer they made to the captains Buchanan and Forbes, of fifty thousand roupees, if they would suffer them to pass their guard; but they, rejecting the offer with indigna-

1755. tion, disclosed it to colonel Clive: after which, the Marattas found it as impossible to elude the vigilance of the commander, as to corrupt the integrity of his officers.

Soon after the suspension of arms was agreed on and published, Mr. Saunders made a complaint to Mr. Godeheu, desiring redress, on advice that Nanderauze, the Maissore general, had taken Tinevelly, was attacking Madura, and had stopped a quantity of our cloth. Mr. Godeheu immediately wrote to Nanderauze, requiring him forthwith to cease from all hostilities, and warning him, withal, that, unless he readily consented to restore every thing he had taken, he must expect to be compelled to it by every power that had any sense of justice; and that none of his allies could think it consistent with their honour to support him in disturbing the present tranquillity.

At the same time the King of Tanjore, insisting on the restitution of some countries which the Polygar of Marava had taken from him at the beginning of the war, was on the point of proceeding to hostilities; but, by our intervention, the Polygar delivered up the countries, and satisfied the King.

He then demanded of Tondeman two small districts, which he thought were unjustly dissevered from his kingdom; for his minister Monagee, in consideration of his having been assisted in a favourite enterprize by this Polygar, had formally made them over to him in the name of the King his master, without his consent or knowledge. Captain Caillaud was sent to learn the truth of this matter; and also, if possible, to reconcile the difference. He had first an interview with Monagee, who confessed to him, that he had privately made use of the  
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the seal and authority of the King, and had, for a long time, contrived to conceal this affair from him; but, upon being disgraced some years since, he had taken refuge with Tondeman, and then it was discovered: that, since he had been restored to favour, his master had been perpetually urging him to endeavour to regain these countries; and therefore, while the King's jealousy of Tondeman subsisted, though he knew the distress of the country in maintaining the troops he now kept on foot, it was unsafe for him to dismiss them. He then entreated, with tears in his eyes, that the English would not forsake him, declaring, that his ruin was inevitable, unless they would find some way, for the present at least, to quiet the King's impatience.

1755.  
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THIS mediation, dextrously managed by captain Caillaud, who soon after had an interview with the King, served to prevent hostilities for a time; but all endeavours for an accommodation would have proved ineffectual, had not the want of money to equip the army for the field had the desired effect of maintaining peace.

THE Danes, some time ago, asked from the King of Tanjore an enlargement of their bounds, as part of their fort was washed down by the sea. Being refused their request, they marched with two hundred Europeans, five pieces of cannon, and some Peons, and attacked two pagodas belonging to the King of Tanjore, about three miles from Tranquebar. They took one, and attempted the other without success; for a detachment of horse and sepoy having arrived there from Tanjore, had attacked the Danes, killed them about forty men, and wounded an hundred more; the rest escaped to the other pagoda, which they were fortifying. These differences



1755.  rences were also referred to, and accommodated by, the Governor and Council of Madras.

THE tranquillity on one side of the country, was no security to our extensive concerns and interests in other parts. A letter from Mr. De Leyrit, successor to Mr. Godeheu, gave great concern to all who had at heart the true commercial interests of the settlements, and the duration of the late treaty : but if the letters of Mr. De Leyrit were alarming, how much more was to be apprehended from the conduct of M. De Buffy, who was every day enlarging the valuable and extensive possessions which the French held in the north. It was now apparent, that the use they had been endeavouring to make of their influence over the Viceroy, ever since the truce, was to acquire to themselves the dominion of all the provinces of the Deckan. They began to manifest these intentions, by making such exorbitant demands of possessions from Salabatzing as might well alarm him. One, among others, was, that they should be put in possession of the fort of Golconda.

In order to shew by what means this important fortress was saved from falling into the hands of the French, who seldom give up a point of this nature which they have once attempted, it will be necessary to give a short account of one of those rebellions which are so frequent in this country, that they are seldom taken notice of but for their consequences.

It was about this time that Morarow, the Maratta freebooter, attempted to make himself independent, and to strengthen himself in the fort of Savanore, by the concurrence of the Nabob of that district. Ballazerow, the chief of the Marattas, prepared to reduce him, as a rebel to that state, and applied to the Governor of Madras for some English  
gunners.

gunners. Before he cou'd receive an answer to his letter, Salabatzing, considering also the Nabob of Savanore as a rebel, made it a common cause; and, joining Ballazerow, they soon obliged Morarow to come out of the fort and make his submissions; not forgetting at the same time, to call the Nabob of Savanore to account, for the protection he had given him in his fort.

1755.

THE French accompanied the Viceroy in this expedition, and their assuming behaviour did not escape the discerning eyes of Pallazerow: who looking upon the French as a disgrace to the Viceroy, and a great obstruction to all his own views, remonstrated to Salabatzing the danger and shame which the influence of a handful of Europeans, thus arrogantly giving law to a great Prince, must bring on his character and government.

THE good council of Ballazerow, as it came very opportunely for the preservation of the fort of Golconda, was not thrown away. Salabatzing represented the unreasonableness of such a demand: he told M. De Buffy, that the countries which had been already given him were more than sufficient for the pay and expences of his troops, and desired to entertain them no longer upon such extravagant terms. M. De Buffy replied in a haughty stile to this expostulation, and only grew more pressing in his demands, till Salabatzing was obliged to order him immediately to return to Pondicherry. M. De Buffy was now under a necessity of withdrawing his forces; and he began his march, as he pretended, for Masulipatam, by the way of Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda.

UPON the departure of M. De Buffy, Salabatzing wrote to the Governor of Madras, requesting some

1755. troops, to prevent the French from insulting him in his government. In the mean time, the French having committed some disorders in the countries they were passing through, the Viceroy detached a party of Maratta horse to keep near them on the road, and prevent further disturbances. M. De Bussy, however, arrived safe at Hydrabad, and took post with his troops in a large house in the town, where he had mounted some guns, and prepared to defend himself against an attack.

M. DE BUSSY had secured a good stock of provisions of all sorts, by plundering the Bazars: his force consisted of four hundred Europeans, and three or four hundred sepoy, and the French had embarked from Pondicherry four or five hundred men, to be landed at Massulipatam, and to march from thence to succour M. De Bussy. The march from Massulipatam to Hydrabad may be reckoned about fifteen days.

As the French had made so large a draft from Pondicherry, there was the less danger to our settlements of any enterprize from thence; therefore it was agreed, that about four hundred Europeans, including the train of artillery, and four hundred sepoy, might be sent with safety to the assistance of Salabatzing: for although M. De Bussy, if he should be joined by all the detachments sent from Pondicherry, would have near one thousand men, yet, as he had no black troops, he would be liable to be continually harassed and starved, while our party, joined by fifty thousand horse, had no such difficulties to apprehend. Salabatzing had himself pointed out the road by which our detachment should march, and sent orders to all the Polygars and other officers residing in the adjacent countries, to furnish sufficient provisions.

EVERY

EVERY thing being thus settled, the necessary preparations were making for the march of the troops, when the news came of the surrender of Cabsambuzar and the danger of Calcutta. Immediately upon this advice, major Kilpatrick was sent with two hundred and fifty men for Bengal. Fresh applications came from Salabatzing, and it was resolved, notwithstanding the detachment to Bengal, to continue the expedition to Golconda, when the account came of the loss of Calcutta and all the subordinate factories. The necessity of re-establishing the settlements in Bengal superceded every other consideration: therefore it was resolved, in this most critical conjuncture, to send six hundred Europeans, and a thousand sepoy, under the command of colonel Clive, for that important service, which was so happily effected. 1755.

As the English were thus prevented from supporting the Viceroy in his measures, he was obliged to alter his resolutions, and finding that M. De Buffy was joined by five hundred Europeans under Mr. Law, he soon hearkened to terms of accommodation; and the French were again admitted into the service of Salabatzing.

IN consequence of this, about the beginning of the next year, the factories of Ingeram, Banderma-lanka, and Vizagaparam, were taken by the enemy. As these events were not unforeseen, immediately upon the re-commencement of hostilities, the greatest part of the Company's effects were shipped off, particularly from the two former places. The latter was by no means provided to resist so large a force as M. De Buffy brought against it: for he passed the Chicacole the 20th of June with six hundred Europeans and six thousand sepoy, and thirty pieces of cannon. He had also obliged the Raja to furnish

1756. him with four thousand pikemen. The garrison consisted of one hundred and forty Europeans, and four hundred and twenty sepoy and Topasses.

ON the 24th, about three in the afternoon, a large party of horse being the van of the army, approached the town, in order to take a view of some of the out-works; but being fired at from the Black Rock battery, retired to a great distance. Next morning the whole army was come up within two miles, and a considerable party encamped very near the town. In the afternoon M. De Bussy sent the following summons to the Chief of the factory.

S I R, French Camp, June 25, 1757.

“ It is, I believe, needless to tell you what brings me before your place; but I think it necessary to acquaint you of it, by summoning you to surrender it up, and not expose yourself and your garrison by a mistaken bravery, to all the fury which follows an assault or escalade; an evil which I should not be able to put a stop to, having in my army barbarous and undisciplined nations.

“ You will avoid this in surrendering, and may depend upon all the good treatment and generosity, on which my nation piques itself in such a case, and particularly, Sir,

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant,

“ D E B U S S Y.”

A CAPITULATION was accepted, in which it was agreed to deliver up the place, the fortifications, the artillery, marine, and military stores, arms, ship-stores, &c. to the company of France; as also all that should be found in the different magazines belonging to the English Company.

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THE Chief, the Council, and all those employed in the English Company's service, the officers and all others, both civil and military, to be prisoners of war on their parole. 1757.

ALL the soldiers, sailors, and other Europeans, to be prisoners, as long as the war should continue between the King of France and the King of England, or till they should be exchanged.

THE Capture of this place gave the French the entire possession of the coast from Ganjam to Massulapattam.

WHILE the affairs in the north took this unfavourable turn, the Company received very little benefit from the southern provinces, which were thought to have been peaceably established.

IN March, 1756, advice was received from the Nabob, that the Polygars, who were united against his brother Mauphus Cawn, had obtained several advantages over his troops, and had blocked up a large party in a strong fort, between Madura and Tinnevely. He requested that an European force might be sent to support his brother. It being thought imprudent at that time to part with any number of Europeans from Fort St. George, or to give the French a pretence for marching to the assistance of those factious Polygars, Mahomed Isouf Cawn, the Nellourie Subadar (who had a commission as commander over all the Company's sepoy) was sent with a thousand sepoy and the Coffee Company from Trichinopoly.

THE day before he began his march, advice was received that Mauphus Cawn had obtained a complete victory over the rebels, killed the general, and

1757. two thousand Collieries, and taken three hundred horse, with all the baggage, guns, and some elephants: the battle was fought within seven miles of Tinevelly. This victory was so far from producing the quiet which might naturally be expected from it, that it served only to enable Mauphus Cawn to put in execution the design he had all along entertained, of making himself independent of his brother and his allies. He accordingly began to stir in the Tinevelly province; having already, under false and frivolous pretences, obliged our, sepoy to leave the fortrefs of Madura. He could then no longer conceal his intentions, and therefore, without pretending to disguise them, he put himself at the head of his troops, resolving to oblige Isouf Cawn entirely to quit the country, as he had already driven him out of Madura.

In the beginning of the year 1757, captain Caillaud, who then commanded in Trichinopoly, was ordered to march from thence to the assistance of Isouf Cawn, with one hundred and twenty Europeans, five hundred sepoy, and two pieces of cannon. As Madura was now in the possession of the enemy, he was obliged to take a large circuit to get into the Tinevelly province by another road. Mauphus Cawn did all in his power to oppose his march, but to no purpose; for, on the 17th of March, captain Caillaud reached Tinevelly, and joined Isouf Cawn. His army then consisted of a few more Europeans and sepoy, three additional pieces of artillery, and about five or six hundred cavalry. With this force he marched in quest of Mauphus Cawn, whose troops consisting of cavalry, easily made their escape among the woods. Captain Caillaud, knowing it was in vain to pursue them in that country, employed himself more usefully, in settling accounts with the renter, and remitting some money to the Company

Company after he had provided for the payment  
of the army. 1757.

HAVING finished this necessary preliminary, he marched the beginning of May for Madura the conquest of which was of the greatest consequence to the affairs of the two provinces, and arrived before it the 12th of May. It is a large town, fortified in the old way, with two walls, and round towers at proper distances for flanking (as may be seen in the plan) and a ditch.

MAUPHUS CAWN had a garrison there, and on hearing of the march of our troops, he threw in another reinforcement; so that, in all, they had eight or nine hundred cavalry, and about three thousand black infantry, most of them with fire-arms, fourteen pieces of cannon, with powder and ammunition in plenty. Captain Caillaud had no artillery with him; he therefore sent to Trichinopoly for some battering cannon; and, in the mean time, was making all the necessary preparations for the attack, when he received a letter from the Presidency of Madras, acquainting him that the French were in motion, their intentions not known, but suspected to be against Trichinopoly; that, if this was confirmed to him, he was, before all things, to consult the safety of that place.

HE did not, however, think it necessary, upon a mere report, to abandon his enterprize, but resolved to wait; and, in the mean time, made his dispositions for the worst that could happen; but as the call for his forces might be sudden, he took a resolution to make himself master of Madura by surprise: he was the rather encouraged to it, by observing a place which seemed to him, on reconnoitring, very fit for an escalade. The ditch was dry,



1757. the first wall very low, and, by intelligence from within, he knew it was thinly guarded; he therefore made all necessary preparations for the attempt.

EVERY thing went on at first with extraordinary success; the advanced party, with their ladders, had got over the first wall unperceived and unheard, and were pulling over the longer ladders, to mount the inner wall. The unavoidable noise of their arms and implements, the grating of the ladders against the walls, together with the breaking of one of them, alarmed the centry, who immediately challenged and fired. The guard which was nearest hoisted some blue lights (a composition they make in that country, of sulphur and antimony, which throws an exceeding clear light all around) by which they saw the assailants close under the wall, preparing for the escalade, and many more on the glacis, ready to support them; the main body was in a hollow way, out of their sight, but within two hundred yards of the wall. The alarm was given in an instant, and they began to fire very smartly upon the walls; none of the troops lay far from their posts, so that the fire encreased every minute, therefore the retreat was ordered, and performed with a very inconsiderable loss; which was the more extraordinary, as the men were so much exposed.

CAPTAIN CAILLAUD received a letter that very day from the Presidency, to inform him, that they did not imagine the French had designs on Trichinopoly, from the late intelligence received of their motions; and that they had sent from Fort St. George a small reinforcement to that garrison: he therefore thought he might have time to finish the siege, when the heavy cannon should arrive, and had given directions to the officer who commanded in his absence at Trichinopoly, to spare no money nor pains for

for good intelligence, that he might be in time apprized of the enemy's designs and motions: but, notwithstanding these precautions, the first intelligence he received was, that the French were in sight of Trichinopoly: however, as his orders obliged him to hold his troops in readiness against all events, his dispositions were made accordingly, and he began his march immediately on receiving the news. He left behind him a good part of his army to blockade the place, taking with him all the Europeans, and one thousand of the best sepoys, with four days provisions in their knapsacks. 1757.

MADURA is an hundred miles from Trichinopoly, and the French, under the command of M. D'Auteuil, had then invested the place. They had nine hundred men in battalion, three or four thousand sepoys, about one hundred European cavalry and hussars, and a much greater number of the country horse. It was no small difficulty to get into the town, as the enemy knew of his march, and made, as they thought, a disposition that could not fail of preventing him. Captain Caillaud was aware, that, if any misfortune should befall his party, Trichinopoly must inevitably be lost; but he had an advantage in his knowledge of the country, and also of the proper methods of procuring intelligence. He had by this means a true account of the dispositions of the French.

THEY had formed themselves in four divisions which made a chain quite a-cross the plain, in the front of which their cavalry was advanced, and divided into small parties, to possess the roads and posts all round. One part they had neglected, as thinking it impracticable for troops to march that way: it was a tract of land extending about nine miles to the west of the town, wholly consisting of plantations of rice.

1757. rice. As the grain will not grow in this country, unless the soil be overflowed with water, the fields must of consequence be one continued slough, through which it is impossible to march without being above the knee in mud at each step. Captain Caillaud finding, as has been said, every other avenue stopped, resolved to take his rout by this difficult, and therefore unsuspected, way. About two in the afternoon he set out on the direct plain road, and continued to pursue the same course for some miles: this he did to deceive the enemy, and prevent the danger of a discovery, if it should have happened that they had any spies among our people. At the close of the evening he struck out of the road, and about ten o'clock got into the rice fields, and, for the next seven hours, the troops pursued their fatiguing march, till the long wished-for day appeared; they were then within cannon shot of the fort, which they soon reached, with no small joy and satisfaction. Captain Caillaud had previously detached two companies of sepoys to the right, in order to give the enemy an alarm that way, and still keep up their attention on that side. Those two companies executed their orders perfectly well, set the enemy in motion, and then retired to the woods, from whence they easily found their way into the town the following night.

THE French could not at first believe the party was got in, but were soon convinced of it, and that very night repassed the river, and went on the island of Seringham. M. D'Auteuil was greatly blamed for his bad manœuvre, and ordered to return to Pondicherry: upon his arrival there, the command of the army was taken from him.

THE manner in which the French came so unexpected upon Trichinopoly is too artful to be passed over unnoticed.

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THE declaration of war in Europe had to this time produced very little alteration in the affairs of the Coast; for, after parting with so considerable a portion of our strength for the Bengal expedition, which reduced us to an equality with Pondicherry, we could not hope to obtain, by a commencement of hostilities, any advantage equivalent to the expence of taking the field; and therefore our endeavours had been to preserve the tranquillity of the province, to the end that the collection of the revenues, in which the Company had now so great a concern, might not be interrupted, and the French receiving no supplies from Europe to render them greatly superior to us, had remained also quiet; reasoning, no doubt, upon the same principles. At last, upon the arrival of two ships, which landed at most two hundred men, they grew impatient of repose, and tho' not daring to avow their designs, they found it no difficult matter to form a pretext for taking the field: for while the two companies, for fear of giving each other alarm, forbore to quell the irregularities of the petty Governors by force of arms, those turbulent chiefs, who knew no other law than the sword, had made continual invasions on the countries adjacent to their little forts, and grievously oppressed the inhabitants with their depredations and exactions.

THEY had practised these outrages, with impunity, for the reasons abovementioned, and might still have continued the same, but that the French, to conceal their intended surprize of Trichinopoly, chose to give out that M. D'Auteuil, who marched first with only two hundred men, had no other purpose than to demand satisfaction of Meer Saib, the Governor of Ellavanafore, for ravages he had committed on some of their neighbouring villages. The more effectually to disguise their real designs, they  
actually

1757.

1757. actually advanced near the fort of Ellavanasore, and being repulsed by Meer Saib, might have paid dear for their attempt, had not that resolute Chief received a wound, of which he died a few days after. The consternation his death occasioned, being increased by a reinforcement which M. D'Auteuil received from Pondicherry, determined Meer Saib's brother to abandon the fort, and the French took possession of it the 13th of April. For the same purpose, also, they pretended disputes with Worriarpollam, and other places lying on that road.

M. D'AUTEUIL, leaving a small garrison at Ellavanasore, moved with the body of the army, first, to Verdachilum, where being joined by a reinforcement from Pondicherry, Karical, and all their other garrisons, he marched the 4th of May and encamped near Worriarpollam, and on the 7th made an attack upon one of the passes of the woods, but was repulsed. He then accommodated matters with the Polygars, who were masters of those passes, on the promise of a sum of money; and moved on with such expedition, that an advanced party encamped near Seringham the 12th; and on the 15th M. D'Auteuil crossed the river with the whole army, and took post at Worriour, a pagoda two miles and a half west of Trichinopoly.

THE designs of the French, which had been suggested by private intelligence, were now too apparent; therefore, on the 11th of April, a reinforcement of fifty men was ordered from Fort St. David, to march with all speed to Trichinopoly.

THE great consequence of that place, from the strength of the fortification, the large tract of country it commands, as it may be called the key to Madura and Tinevelly, and, above all, the number of

of four hundred French prisoners which were there confined, determined the Presidency of Madras, upon the first news of the march of the enemy from Worriarpollam, to make all the efforts in their power for its safety. They could take their measures with the less risque, since the French had drained all their garrisons so far, that Pondicherry itself was left with very few Europeans fit for duty: therefore, having already sent a detachment from Fort St. David to Trichinopoly, in order to cause a diversion, they prepared three hundred Europeans to march from Madras, with five hundred sepoys, to be joined by a party under colonel Forde. The colonel had been sent, at the request of the Nabob, against his \* brother Nazeabulla Cawn, Governor of Nelloure; who having refused to be accountable for his arrears, had entered into a correspondence with the French Chief at Masulipatam, and procured from him an assistance of seventy or eighty military, and some sepoys. Abdul Vahob Cawn, who was left there with the Nabob's troops, not being able to collect money to pay them, was obliged to come away, so that Nazeabulla Cawn had the entire possession of the country. He had not admitted the French party into the fort, but kept them with his army, which he then employed in subduing the neighbouring Polygars. It was to be feared they would find an opportunity of taking possession of the fort, unless we took some steps to prevent them; for Nazeabulla Cawn, in return for the assistance received from the French, had already made over to them some share of his country, and particularly the ports of Ramahatam and Kistnapatam; places with which the Madras merchants have a considerable commerce.

COLONEL FORDE was ordered to Nelloure with a detachment of one hundred Europeans, fifty Cos-

\* He was a natural son of the Nabob's father.

1757. frees, and three hundred sepoy; with two field-pieces, one eighteen pounder, and three royals. The sepoy were sent over-land to Kistnapatam, and colonel Forde proceeded by sea, with the rest of the detachment, for the same place, where he disembarked the troops, and was joined by the sepoy, and Abdul Vahob Cawn; who, after the usual delays of those people, supplied him, at last, with bullocks and other necessaries for his march.

THE fort of Nelloure, which is twelve miles from Kistnapatam, is about twice as large as Madras. It has five gates, two large and three small ones, and is surrounded by a mud wall, which is very broad at the bottom, and about three feet thick on the top of the rampart. It is almost surrounded by a dry ditch, except on the north side, where is a river, which in the rainy season only, has water in it.

COLONEL FORDE having battered the fort three days, at length made a practicable breach on the 5th of May, and began the assault at break of day, in the following order: The Coffees, ensign Eliot at their head, marched with great resolution to the foot of the breach, three companies of sepoy followed them very close till they came within sixty paces of the breach, and then lay down in a ditch, and could not be prevailed on to advance a step farther, so that the Europeans were obliged to march over them to the breach; where joining the Coffees, they advanced to the top of it; but were so warmly received by the people in the fort, with pikes, firelocks, and stones, that it was impossible for them to get over. In this situation the fight was continued three quarters of an hour, and then the sepoy ran away as fast as they could towards our battery. The colonel, now convinced that nothing could be done with his force, deserted by the sepoy, against so gallant a defence, ordered

dered a retreat, which was conducted with such good order, that not a man was hurt after they had left the attack; but, while they continued in the breach, the action was uncommonly brisk. Our people behaved with great resolution, and had forty killed and wounded, with about fifty Coffrees and sepoys: all these men were wounded in such a manner as to be rendered unfit for present action; but there were scarce any of the assailants who came off without bruises and contusions, from stones, pikes, or clubs; for, with such weapons, numbers of the people in the place opposed and greatly incommoded them.

COLONEL FORDE, having no dependance on any but his own people, and those being greatly reduced, and also part of the ammunition expended, he stopped all farther proceedings till he heard from the Presidency of Madras, whom he immediately acquainted with the foregoing particulars. At the time these advices arrived at Madras, the French were encamped nearer to that place than our troops would be when before Nelloure; therefore it was judged more prudent to give up that undertaking, than to hazard a detachment to the northward; whereas, by marching to the southward, they could at once prevent the designs of the enemy on Trichinopoly, and serve as a barrier between them and Fort St. George; therefore they sent out three hundred Europeans to the southward, and dispatched orders to colonel Forde to join them with all his force.

WHILE the necessary preparations were making for the march of the forces from Madras, captain Polier was ordered from Chengalaput and Carangoly, to endeavour to reduce Outremalour, a fort possessed by the French, situated about fifteen miles from Chengalaput, and eight from Carangoly. On the approach of the party from Carangoly, the French gar-



1757. rison, which consisted only of sepoys, abandoned the fort before captain Polier's arrival: he left about forty sepoys in charge of it, and then returned towards Chengalaput, near to which he encamped, in readiness to join the army from Fort St. George. By this time the French garrison of Allamparva, being reinforced by sea from Pondicherry, so as to make up about one hundred Europeans and Topasses, and three hundred sepoys, marched from thence, and retook Outremalour.

COLONEL ADLERCRON, resolving to command in person the intended expedition for the relief of Trichinopoly, marched from Fort St. George the 26th; and, lest the French redoubts of Waldour and Villenour should cause any delay in his passing by the direct road to Fort St. David, he took the rout of Chengalaput and Wandewash; and as he judged it necessary to halt at some place for colonel Forde to come up with his party, it was recommended to him to employ that spare time in a second reduction of Outremalour, and in demolishing that fort. It was hoped that they might then be able to garrison Chengalaput and Carangoly, in such manner as to cover all those districts; which, thus protected, would bring a considerable revenue to the Company. On the approach of colonel Adlercron, the garrison evacuated the place, and threw themselves into Wandewash.

WHILE the colonel was detained at Outremalour, in destroying the fortifications of that place, he received letters from the Presidency, to acquaint him, that, since captain Caillaud had succeeded in throwing succours into Trichinopoly, they were no longer in pain for that fort; and therefore requested him immediately to invest the fortress of Wandewash, and to push the attack with the utmost vigour, that  
he

he might get possession of it before the French army could come to its relief. They were urgent for this undertaking, on account of the Governor's behaviour, who had paid the Nabob no tribute since the year 1752; and also, during that time, had been a constant favourer of the French, who, under cover of that sort, had been enabled to make the most sudden incursions into all the districts of the Arcot province. The reduction of this fortress would not only have prevented this inconvenience for the future, but the place itself would have been of the utmost consequence to the Nabob and his allies, as being productive of large revenues, and also capable of serving as a barrier for the neighbouring countries.

COLONEL ADLERCRON marched with the army on the 5th of June to Wandewash, and the next day entered the town; but, before the heavy cannon could come up, the greatest part of the French army from Trichinopoly reached Pondicherry, and marched out again to the relief of Wandewash: whereupon colonel Adlercron, judging it impracticable to execute the plan which had been concerted at Madras, resolved to wait for directions from thence; and, in the mean time, withdrew from the town, and encamped a few miles off. The Presidency, being sensible that the collected force of the French would exceed our numbers, could not reasonably hope to obtain any considerable advantage by keeping the field, and were therefore desirous of putting an end to the expence; accordingly, they wrote to colonel Adlercron to return with the army to Madras. They imagined that the French would also consider, that our force was sufficient to obstruct any attempt on their side, and would therefore recal their troops to Pondicherry.

1757.

BEFORE colonel Adlercron began his march for Madrafs, the enemy's army had reached Wandewash; and, a very few hours after he left Outremalour, a party of French took possession of it. Notwithstanding the enemy moved so close after him, colonel Adlercron neither advised the Presidency of their proceedings, nor waited to stop their progress, but continued his march towards Madrafs: the consequence of which was, that, on the very day he left Chengalaput, they made a forced march from Outremalour to Conjeve-ram; plundered the town, and attacked the fort, or walled pagoda; which was, however, so well defended by a serjeant and two companies of sepoys, that they were repulsed, with the loss of an officer and six Europeans killed, and about ten wounded. When this news reached Madrafs the army was arrived within six miles of that place. The Governor and Council thought it highly necessary they should immediately march again, to protect their possessions from further devastations.

COLONEL LAWRENCE, who on every occasion shewed the most earnest disposition to contribute in any shape to the advancement of all military operations, offered to join the army as a volunteer; and, when it was imagined Trichinopoly would have been the scene of action, his intention was to proceed with the troops from Fort St. David for the defence of that place. Afterwards, when the French army returned from Trichinopoly, and were collected at Wandewash, he offered to embark with all the men that could be spared from Fort St. David, and to land at Sadrafs, in order to join the army in the most expeditious manner. Being sensible how much his abilities and experience would contribute to the regulation and good conduct of the army, and judging Fort St. David to be free from all danger, as the whole

whole French force was on the other side, the Presidency approved of this proposal, and colonel Lawrence accordingly landed near Sadras, with about one hundred men, the 22d of June, three days after the march of the army, which he joined on the other side of Chengalaput. 1757.

THE army then advanced towards the enemy, and took post the 10th of July within four miles of them. The French were strongly intrenched about a mile from Wandewash. As their troops were manifestly discontented, which appeared by their frequent desertion, and our men were all in good spirits and eager for an engagement, all possible endeavours were used to induce the enemy to come out of their entrenchments. On the 17th some of the Nalob's horse, supported by a small party of Europeans, were sent within cannon shot of their camp, in hopes that a detachment would be sent out against them, and a general action brought on by that means, but all was in vain; and, as their intrenchments were defended by several batteries, and they had a great superiority also in the number of their troops, it was judged that they could not be attacked in such a post without too much hazard. The continuance of the army in their encampment in this state of inaction, was only a useless expence; therefore, to reduce it as far as prudence would admit, colonel Adlercron was desired to send part of the army to Chengalaput and Carangoly, and the remainder to Conjeveram. This place, being situated in the center of our possession, was a convenient station for the troops to move from, which ever way the enterprises of the enemy might make it necessary.

THE enemy remained about Wandewash till the 20th of September, when they moved against Chetpet with a body of eighteen hundred Europeans.

1757. Nizar Mahomed Cawn, assisted with a serjeant and sixteen men from Fort St. George, defended the place to the last extremity, and even after the enemy had got possession of the fort he fought them in the streets till he was killed with a musket ball; his family then destroyed themselves, and a vast slaughter was made among his troops. This obstinate defence cost the besiegers also a great number of men.

THE French withdrawing from the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, left captain Caillaud at liberty to proceed for the reduction of Madura; but, as the enemy found employment for all the troops that could be spared from Madras, it was impossible to reinforce him with such a strength as should secure him success. Without waiting for farther supplies, he took with him such a force as he thought might be spared from Trichinopoly without weakening the garrison too much, and marched the 27th of June, with ninety military, four hundred sepoy, and two twenty-four pounders; with these he joined lieutenant Rumbold, who had maintained his post before Madura with the Coffrees and sepoy left under his command. It took up some days to make the necessary preparations for erecting a battery, which was opened on the 9th, and a breach made before noon. Captain Caillaud thought it adviseable to assault the breach without delay, lest the besieged should throw up some works within during the night.

THE disposition being made, he began the attack at two in the afternoon; but the breach was so vigorously defended, that the best of his troops were either killed or disabled in the attempt; the rest fell back, and it was impossible to prevent a general retreat, or to persuade the remains of the army to a second attack: neither was it adviseable, at a time when the besieged were elated with having killed and wounded,

wounded upon this occasion, between thirty and forty Europeans and Coffrees, and a hundred sepoy. 1757.

CAPTAIN CAILLAUD resolving to wait for an opportunity to renew his attempt, in the mean time, made the proper dispositions for reducing the place by famine; but as this method might take up so much time as to prolong his stay till the arrival of the French fleet, he eagerly caught at the first opening for a treaty, and though the proposals of Mauphus Cawn's people were most exorbitant, he did not rashly reject them, but by degrees abating the terms, reduced them at length to a hundred and seventy thousand roupees. He then concluded the bargain, and Madura was delivered up to him just at the time that the French fleet arrived. This event making it necessary to provide for the defence of all the garrisons; orders were sent to withdraw the troops from the Tinnevely country, and captain Caillaud returned to Trichinopoly; leaving a large garrison of sepoy at Madura, under the command of Isouf Cawn.

MAUPHUS CAWN being now master of all the revenue of Tinnevely, the districts of Madura alone were not sufficient to defray the expence of maintaining the fort.

THE COAST was at this time in danger of being disturbed by other powers as well as the French.

THE Marattas, who are continually traversing these immense countries with their vast bodies of horse, in a most incredible manner, having, within the last two years, conquered large districts in many parts of the Deckan, had also entered the kingdom of Maissore, and at each time carried away upwards of thirty lack of roupees. The Nanna Balazerow, in

1757. in his return, possessed himself of the fort and country of Serah, the next province to Cadapah. He left Balaventerow, his general, with about eight thousand horse, at Cadanattam, a place about eighty miles from Arcot. His orders were to demand the Chout of the Arcot and Trichinopoly countries, which had been unpaid for some years past. For this purpose he sent a Vakeel to the Nabob, and another to Pondicherry. Balazercow made a demand of forty lack of roupees; but, upon the representation of the Nabob, who described to the Vakeel the state of his country for some years past, and assured him that not only the whole revenues of the districts in his possession, but every roupee he could borrow besides, had been spent in opposing the designs of the French, who would otherwise have subdued the whole Carnatick, the Vakeel reduced the demand to three lack; and, upon the Nabob's further instances, to two lack and a half, one half to be paid immediately, the other in one month. The Nabob thought this a more reasonable accommodation than could have been expected; but not being able to raise that sum himself, recommended to the Presidency to consent to these terms, and advance the money. The low state of their treasury put it out of their power to comply with this request; nor could they, at any time, with prudence, pay such a sum upon a mere demand, without making some agreement, or terms of alliance, for the good of their affairs. In hopes to gain time, as ships from Europe were every day expected, they wrote to the Maratta Vakeel at Arcot, desiring him to come and settle the affair in dispute at Madras; and, at the same time, recommended to the Nabob to accompany him.

ALTHOUGH the Vakeel had told the Nabob that the French had offered four lack of roupees to the Maratta general, to engage him in their alliance, and  
hinted,

hinted, that the consequence of our not complying immediately with the terms offered, would be the ruin of the countries in our possession, yet it was not apprehended that the Nanna had impowered this officer to proceed to such extremities: neither could ~~be~~ supposed that the French were able to make good <sup>1757.</sup> so large an offer as four lack, having reduced their own finances to as low an ebb as those of their neighbours; but it is natural to the Moors, in all their transactions, to mix a proportion of falshood, and, if they fancy they can carry their point by it, they pride themselves in the conceit of their art and cunning.

THE Nabob arrived at Madrafs the 8th of August, 1757, with Amoortarow, the Maratta Vakeel, and some days were employed in representing to Amoortarow the vast expence which the Nabob and the Company had been at to preserve the country from the entire dominion of the French; but the endeavours of the Presidency, by that argument, to avoid the payment he demanded, were fruitless, and all their remonstrances of very little weight, the Nabob having absolutely engaged with Amoortarow, before he left Arcot, to pay the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand roupees. Whenever it was proposed to Amoortarow to abate in his demand, his answer was, constantly, that he had the Nabob's promise, and should get the money from him. The Maratta seemed determined, in case it was not paid, to lay waste the countries in the possession of the Nabob and the Company, which was certainly in the power of an army of eight thousand horse. Such a force was then within eighty miles of Arcot, and might have seized a sum far exceeding their demand, as it was the time of the \* Tripety feast, during which

\* Tripety is a pagoda situated upon a hill about one hundred and fifty miles N. N. W. of Madrafs. It is held in the same veneration by the Gentoos, as Mecca is by the Mahometans. An solemnity



1757. solemnity the greatest part of the revenues are usually collected at the pagoda. The Presidency therefore agreed, upon these considerations, to enable the Nabob to pay the sum in question, by allowing it to be deducted out of the second half of his assignment of eight lack to the Company.

NOTWITHSTANDING the power of the Marattas was so well known, and had been of late so universally felt, such is the restless spirit of all the Indian as well as Moorish Chiefs, that Morarow, who had, not long since, brought himself and the Nabob of Savanore to the necessity of imploring pardon from the Nanna, was now proposing a league, between himself, the Nabobs of Cadapah and Canoul, and the King of Maissore, with intent to retake Serah from the Nanna, and prevent his getting any footing in the Carnatick. Could this treaty have been accomplished with any prospect of success, it must be granted, that it might have been a glorious barrier against the inroads of that destructive power. The proposal was specious, and would have had the approbation, and, possibly, the concurrence of the English, could it have been considered as a system of cool and lasting policy; but it was rather to be suspected of having its foundation in ambition or revenge, and as it proved, was only a means of provoking the Marattas to make those countries the seat of war, and of throwing them the sooner into their hands. Upon the first advice of this intended confederacy, Balaventarow marched against the Nabob of Cadapah, and killing him in a battle, took the greatest

annual feast is held at Tripety, in the month of September, at which time a great number of devotees resort to the pagoda; and from the presents made by such a multitude of votaries, a large revenue accrues to the Nabob. None but Gentoos, of different tribes, are permitted to ascend the sacred hill on which the pagoda stands.

part

part of the country into his own hands; but Abdul Mahomed Cawn, with some of the relations and troops of the late Nabob, throwing themselves into Sydoat fort, maintained themselves for a time; but were at last obliged to accommodate with the besiegers for a sum of money, and the delivery of half the country to the Marattas. 1757.

DURING the time these transactions were on foot, Amoortarow the Vakeel, with a part of the Maratta troops, went against Trepalour, which is also in the dependency of Cadapah; but he was less successful than his master, for having attempted an assault, he met with so vigorous a repulse that great part of his forces were cut off, and himself mortally wounded and carried prisoner to the fort, where he died a few days after. The Marattas, during their stay in those parts, collected several sums of money from the different Polygars to the northward; and then went off towards Poona, to join Balazerow.

FROM these, and many more instances, it has been shewn how great a check the Marattas have been upon the Moorish Government, and that it is owing to their arms alone that the Mahometans have been prevented from the usurpation of the whole peninsula.

As the Moors are a luxurious people, in a few years of peace they grow enervated by their debaucheries, and soon degenerate into sloth and effeminacy. It may also be added, that a general corruption of manners, and treachery to one another, would greatly conduce to render them an easy prey to the Marattas, whenever they should take the resolution to expel them the country. And though there is not a Governor, in the highest rank of power and independency, but what styles himself, a thousand times

1757. times in the ordinary transactions of the day, **THE SLAVE OF THE MOGUL**, there is not one of them in the whole empire that pays the least regard to the most solemn orders of that monarch, or that will march his troops to quell any dangerous commotion, or stir for the preservation of the life or throne of his master.

**THE** only balance to the power of the Marattas is a race of northern people, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar, commonly known in India by the name of Pattans, though they are more generally called Agwans on the other side of the country; and under that name conquered Isfahan in the year 1722. They are Mahometans, yet no less enemies to the Moorish Government than the Marattas, or other Indians. They are said to have been descended from an ancient colony of Arabians, who entered the country four hundred years before Tamerlane, and built the city of Massulipatam; from thence extending their conquests northward, they founded Patna in Bengal, and at last over-ran the whole country to the west, and were masters of Delli when Tamerlane first appeared in India. As they were always reckoned good soldiers, they are now considered as the very best infantry in the whole empire; and it is natural to suppose they should be such, since they have been inhabitants of the northern mountains.

**THIS** warlike nation made themselves formidable to Nadir Shaw, in his march; and after that conqueror had left the Mogul empire in the weak and indefensible state to which he had reduced it, the Pattans invaded it, on a supposition that it was then in too low a condition to be able to resist the force which they at that time thought was sufficient to bring against it.

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As soon as the Emperor was apprized of their march, he assembled his council, and, sitting on his throne, surrounded by his generals and twenty-two principal Omrahs, held in his hand a betel, which, according to the custom of the country, he offered to that chief who should immediately engage to take the command of the army and repulse the enemies of his country. So universal was the effeminacy or treachery of the courtiers, that not one of them advanced to take the betel as a pledge of their fidelity; which the young Prince, being then about eighteen, observing with extreme concern, presented himself to his father, with earnest entreaties that he might be permitted to receive it.

1757.

His father refused it him, representing to him, that it was not proper for the heir of the empire to expose himself in so perilous an enterprize, while there were so many experienced generals more fit for that service. On the other hand, the Omrahs all maintained, that, as his son had offered to take the betel, he alone should put himself at the head of the troops; and joining with the Prince in solicitations, prevailed at length upon the Emperor, who immediately gave his orders for the raising of three hundred thousand men.

THE Omrahs, withdrawing from court, entered into a conspiracy, and gaining the Chiefs of the several corps which composed this army, so hastily assembled, concerted with them to betray the Prince.

THE young hero, being informed of the plot that was laid against his life, a little before he gave battle to the Pattans, had the address privately to secure the persons of those treacherous commanders; he then attacked the enemy, and, gaining a complete victory, obliged them to quit the country by a precipitate flight.

1757. flight. While the Prince was thus gloriously delivering his country from the Pattans, the conspirators in the capital caused it to be reported, that he was fallen in battle, and, entering the palace, seized on the Emperor, and strangled him, giving out that he had poisoned himself in a fit of despair, occasioned by the loss of the battle and the death of his son. This horrible assassination could not be concealed from the Prince, who was now returning in triumph to Delli. He was sensible of the danger that threatened his own life from so formidable a conspiracy, and, to avoid it, adopted the stratagem which his great grandfather Aurenzeh practised on another occasion. He appeared inconsolable for the loss of his father, pretending to believe that he died a natural death: he tore off his garments, and took the habit of a Fakeer, declaring publicly, that he renounced the world, and that he would never more have concern in the government.

A COURT of justice for a state criminal is a thing unheard of in these lawless governments; and there is no way of punishing a traitor, but by turning against him his own arts of treachery and deceit.

THE Prince acted his part so well, that he deceived the conspirators, who went out to meet him, with assurances of their readiness to acknowledge him for their master and King. He received them with a declaration of his intentions to give up the crown, and even to retire from the world. He told them, that, as it was necessary so vast an empire should not be destitute of a head, he must entreat their assistance to direct him in the choice of an emperor, desiring that they would assemble in his palace that evening, to deliberate on this important affair. The Omrahs retired, flattering themselves that they should now have an opportunity of setting up a crea-

ture of their own; while Amet Shaw, for that was the name of the young Emperor, entered the royal palace, and prepared a number of trusty persons, whom he placed on each side of the doors of the several avenues which led to his inner court. 1757.


THE entrance to the apartments of Eastern Princes is so disposed, with a view to prevent the sudden irruption of assassins, that there is no approaching the presence chamber but through long oblique passages, wherein, at intervals, there are recesses for the posting of guards. This contrivance at once secures the monarch from the attempts of the most determined villains; and, at the same time, affords him an opportunity for executing his purposes on those who have incurred his displeasure.

EVERY thing being disposed for the reception of the Omrahs, they were each introduced, as they arrived, to these fatal avenues; and, as they stooped to pass the curtains, which are generally kept lowered, they were seized by the guards, and immediately received the just reward of their crimes.

THUS the Emperor Amet Shaw established himself, for a while, in the quiet possession of the throne, by triumphing at once over his foreign and domestic enemies. But it was not long before the peace of Delli was more fatally disturbed; for the Pattan Chief retiring to Lahore, in a little time assembled a much more formidable army, and entering Delli, gave up the town to be plundered three days by his soldiers. In the mean time, he took to himself all that was to be found in the royal treasury, and required of the collectors of the public revenues, that they should be accountable to him for all they had received. He then marched home, being supposed to have taken away more riches, except jewels,

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than

1757.  than Nadir Shaw carried out of the country. He made no revolution, and, it is said, no alteration in the government of Indostan, and yet he assumed a kind of sovereignty over it; but when he returned to Lahore, he drew a line from north to south, assuming to himself a vast extent of country to the west of that line, which was before, at least nominally, dependent on the empire of Indostan; there he left his son Timur as Governor of his new dominions, and gave no further disturbance to Indostan till the year 1757.

BEFORE we enter on the most important of all the military operations on the Coromandel coast, it may be useful to take a view of the strength of the respective Companies.

THE French had nineteen hundred Europeans on the coast, exclusive of those with M. De Buffly, before the arrival of their Squadron in September. This fleet brought a reinforcement of one thousand military, which, added to a number of sailors that were landed, nearly completed three thousand five hundred men. The English having no more than one thousand three hundred of the Company's troops, had increased them by enlisting three hundred and thirty-four of colonel Adircron's regiment, when that officer, with his corps, was ordered home; and as the China ships brought them only eighty-four soldiers, their whole force amounted to no more than one thousand six hundred and eighteen men.

In consideration of this vast superiority on the part of the enemy, the Presidency judged it necessary to suspend all operations of the field, and keep the troops collected in the several garrisons. Conformably to this plan, they drew the army from Conjeve-  
**ram** into Madras, ordered back major Polier, who

was marched to the northward, to protect Tripety <sup>1758.</sup> against the threatened attack of Nazeabulla Cawn from Nelloure; and directed captain Caillaud (who having taken possession of the fort of Madura, was preparing to march for Tinevelly) to return to Trichinopoly with all his Europeans, and as many sepoy as he should think necessary; leaving Houf Cawn, with the rest of the sepoy, to protect Madura and Tinevelly.

WHILE we continued thus waiting the motions of the French, and surprized that they should remain inactive for so many months after the taking of Chetteput, a fleet of eleven sail, commanded by M. D'Achè, appeared off Fort St. David early in the morning of the 28th of April: two of them proceeding to Pondicherry, landed M. Lally, while seven anchored in Fort St. David's road, and two farther off to the eastward. The Bridgewater and Triton being surrounded in St. David's road, were obliged to run ashore, in order to save their crews and stores. Next morning a large detachment from Pondicherry entered the bounds of Fort St. David, and were to have been joined by the troops from the ships; but the unexpected appearance of the English Squadron to the southward at the same instant, putting them into confusion, prevented the disembarkation.

ADMIRAL POCOCK being joined by commodore Stevens, who arrived in Madras's road on the 24th of March, with the Elizabeth, Yarmouth, Weymouth, and Newcastle, on the 28th hoisted his flag on board the Yarmouth, and, after having put the squadron in the best condition possible for the sea, sailed on the 17th of April, in order to get to windward of Fort St. David, to intercept the French



1758. Squadron, which, by intelligence, he had reason to  
 expect.

His whole force now consisted of the Yarmouth, sixty-four guns, five hundred and forty men, captain John Harrison; the Elizabeth, sixty-four guns, four hundred ninety-five men, commodore Stevens, captain Kempenfelt, his captain; the Cumberland, sixty-six guns, five hundred and twenty men, captain Brereton; the Weymouth, sixty-guns, four hundred and twenty men, captain Nicholas Vincent; the Tyger, sixty guns, four hundred men, captain Thomas Latham; the Newcastle, fifty guns, three hundred and fifty men, captain George Legge; and the Salisbury, fifty guns, and three hundred men, captain John Somerset; with the Queenborough and Protector storeships.

THE 28th at noon the admiral made Negapatam, and the next morning, at half an hour past nine o'clock, in running down to St. David's, saw seven ships in that road getting under sail, and two cruising in the offing, which, by their not answering his signal, he concluded were enemies, and made the signal for a general chase. They then stood off shore to the eastward, under top-sails, with the wind at south; and at noon, being joined by the two ships in the offing, and forming the line of battle a-head, with the starboard tacks on board, the admiral found it necessary to make the signal to form his line also; and when all his ships came up and got into their station, which was a little before three o'clock in the afternoon, and nearly within random shot of the enemy, who continued under their top-sails, he bore down upon the Zodiaque, on board of which ship M. D'Achè wore a cornette at the mizen-topmast head, keeping a little a head of him. The French began to fire upon him as he approached them:

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notwithstanding which, he forbore to throw out the signal for engaging till he came within half musket shot of the *Zodiaque*. A little after three, perceiving the ships were not all got near enough to the enemy, the admiral made a signal for a closer engagement; which was immediately complied with by the ships in the van. At half an hour past four, observing the rear of the French line had drawn up pretty close to the *Zodiaque*, he made the *Cumberland*, *Newcastle*, and *Weymouth's* signals to make sail up, and engage close. A few minutes after, *M. D'Achè* broke the line, and shot up under the lee quarter of his second a-head, and then put before the wind: his second a-stern, who kept on the *Yarmouth's* quarter most part of the action, then came up along-side, gave his fire, and bore away; the two other ships in the rear came up in like manner, and then bore away. The admiral observing the enemy's van to bear away also, hauled down the signal for the line, and made the signal for a general chase. At six, the enemy joined two ships about four miles to leeward, and at the same time hauled their wind, and stood to the westward, with the larboard tacks on board.

THE *Yarmouth's* masts, yards, sails, and rigging, as well as the *Elizabeth*, *Tyger*, and *Salisbury*, were damaged so as to prevent their keeping up with the other ships that were in the rear during the action, and had suffered but little. From the condition of the ships, and, more especially, as the night approached, the admiral thought it necessary to haul close upon a wind, and stand to the south-west, in order, if possible, to keep to windward of the enemy, in hopes of being able to engage them next morning, if he could be so fortunate as to prevent their weathering him in the night. He ordered the *Queenborough* a-head to observe their mo-

1758. tions, and continued endeavouring to work up after them till six in the morning of the first of May; when finding he lost ground considerably, for the enemy had received little damage in their rigging, he came to an anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadrafs, and sent an officer to the Chief of that settlement for intelligence. From thence he was informed, that the *Bien-Aimè*, of seventy-four guns, had received so much damage in the action, that the enemy was obliged to run her on shore a little to the southward of Alamparvey, where the French squadron was then at an anchor. The action was about seven leagues west by north of that place.

ADMIRAL POCOCK, in his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty observed, that commodore Stevens and captain Kempensfelt, captain Latham, and captain Somerset, who were in the van, and also his own captain, captain Harrison, and all the officers and men belonging to the *Yarmouth*, by their endeavours to come to an engagement with the enemy, and their conduct in action, gave him a sensible satisfaction.

It was confessed by several French officers, that they had six hundred men killed in the action, and many wounded. Our loss was only twenty nine men killed and thirty wounded; which disparity can only be accounted for by the enemy's endeavouring to dismast our ships, while we fired at their hulls: and this will also account for the destruction of the *Bien-aimè*, and the escape of all the rest, who got safe to Pondicherry the 5th of May. The French had in the engagement eight ships of the line and a frigate. The *Zodiaque* of seventy-four guns, on board of which M. D'Achè, as it has been said, wore a cornette on the mizen-top-mast head: Le  
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Bien-aimé, also of seventy four guns, Le Vengeur,  
 and Le St. Louis of sixty-four, Le Duc d'Orleans <sup>1757.</sup>  
 and Le Duc de Bourgogne of sixty, Le Condé and  
 Le Moras of fifty, and La Sylphide, a frigate of  
 thirty-six guns. After the engagement they were  
 joined by the two ships which had been at Pondi-  
 cherry to land M. Lally : they were, Le Compte de  
 Provence of seventy-four guns, and Le Diligent of  
 twenty four.

ADMIRAL Pocock having received one hundred  
 and twenty recovered men from the hospital, and  
 above fourscore Lascars from the Governor of Ma-  
 dras, and having fished his masts, and repaired his  
 most material damages, tried for some days to work  
 up shore, but without success. He then put off the  
 land ; and on the 10th of May stretched as far to the  
 southward as the latitude of nine degrees and thirty  
 minutes north, by which he hoped to fetch to wind-  
 ward of Fort St. David ; but upon standing in  
 again, he met with strong westerly winds, and the  
 Cumberland's leak increased so as to prevent her  
 keeping the wind, therefore being able to reach no  
 higher than Alamparvey, he anchored off that place  
 the 26th of May. The 30th he got up in sight of  
 Pondicherry ; and the 1st of June in the morning the  
 French squadron weighed, and stood out of the road,  
 consisting of ten sail. Admiral Pocock being con-  
 siderably to leeward, expected that they would bear  
 down and engage him ; but they kept close to the  
 wind, and plyed away from him, notwithstanding his  
 endeavours to get up with them, which was prevent-  
 ed in a great measure by the Cumberland's bad fail-  
 ing. The second and third day, the current setting  
 strongly to leeward, our squadron, not having any  
 land nor sea winds, lost ground considerably. The  
 6th, the admiral received a letter from the select com-  
 mittee of Fort St. George, acquainting him, that

1758. St. David's surrendered the 2d, and that it was probable Fort St. George would soon be invested, which would put it out of his power to supply the fleet with water. The admiral finding this reasoning to be just, returned and anchored in Madras road, where he supplied his squadron with water and other necessaries.

HAVING related the whole progress of the fleet to their return to Madras, it is now time to shew by what steps the French became masters of Fort St. David.

THE 29th of April the French horse came into the bounds of Fort St. David, and presently after them five hundred men of the regiment of Lorraine, and about two hundred of the Company's troops, with a number of sepoys, artillery-men and eight pieces of cannon. They cut off and dispersed several of our sepoys, and plundered the villages. Their motions were so sudden, they very much alarmed the inhabitants of Fort St. David, so that many of the Lascars, sepoys, and most of the artificers left the place. The enemy having summoned Cuddalore, it was surrendered on the 3d of May, on condition that the garrison should have liberty to retreat, with their arms, to Fort St. David the next morning.

THE enemy having withdrawn almost every man from their garrisons, to make themselves as strong as possible for the siege of Fort St. David, formed a very considerable army, amounting to three thousand five hundred Europeans, and began to fire upon the place with two guns from Cuddalore the 16th, and with five mortars from the new town the 17th. On the 26th they opened a battery of seven guns and five mortars to the westward, at the distance of about eight or nine hundred yards; and on the 30th,

30th, one to the north, of nine guns, and three mortars at the distance of seven or eight hundred yards, and another to the north-east of four guns, at about the same distance.

1758.

THE besieged had lost the greatest part of their black forces by desertion, when they imprudently defended the out-posts; which, considering the weakness of their garrison, should have been abandoned and destroyed. Those who remained in the place, as well Europeans as others, were little disposed to the observance of discipline and regularity; for having too free access to the several storehouses of arrack and other strong liquors, they were never in a condition properly to do their duty.

THE enemy had not yet made any breach, but had dismounted and disabled thirty guns and carriages, and ruined several of the works, so that many of the parapets and platforms were destroyed by the shot and shells. The tanks, or reservoirs, had suffered by the bombardment, so that there was no water to be had fit for use, but what came out of the covered way; from which they could only be supplied by night; and the best well there was likewise destroyed by a bomb. They were also short of ammunition, having expended a great deal in firing away inconsiderately, before the enemy had begun to make their approaches.

THIS being the state of the place on the 1st of June, at the request of major Polier, the Deputy Governor called a council of war; and it was unanimously agreed to surrender upon the following articles of capitulation.

## ARTICLES

1758.

## ARTICLES of CAPITULATION.

By which Alexander Wynch, Esq; acting Deputy Governor, and the Gentlemen of the Council at Fort St. David, in behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, are willing to surrender the Fort of St. David to M. Lally, Lieutenant General in his most Christian Majesty's Service, and Commander in Chief of the French Forces in India.

I. THAT all acts of hostility shall cease, until the articles of capitulation are agreed upon and signed. I. ACORDE'.

II. THAT the Deputy Governor shall march, at the head of the garrison, drums beating, colours flying, out of the barrier into the advanced covered way, where the garrison shall ground their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, on condition of being immediately exchanged for an equal number of his most Christian Majesty's subjects, now prisoners in our garrisons on the coast of Coromandel; and, as soon as the exchange takes place, the garrison to be transported to such of our

II. ACORDE' pour la partie des honneurs, mais la garnison sera conduite prisonniere a Pondichery, ou elle restera jusques a ce qu'elle soit changée contre pareil nombre d'officiers et soldats de S. M. T. C. actuellement au Trichinopoly, et quand les dits soldats de S. M. T. C. seront arrivez a Pondichery, la dite garnison de Fort St. David, sera conduite a Madras ou a Devicota a men choix.

settlement:

settlements as our President and Council of Fort St. George may think proper.

1758.  
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III. THAT Fort St. David, and its out-works, shall not be demolished; but remain in their present state, until the conclusion of a peace.

III. Je ne m'engage a rien sur cet article, c'est le sort de la guerre qui en decidera, et non celui de la paix.

IV. THAT all the garrison, including all the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, as well civil as military, shall have all their baggage and effects secured, with liberty of removing and disposing of them as they shall think proper; and that they be supplied with boats, or proper conveyances for that purpose.

IV. LA garnison, et les sujets de sa Majesté Britannique n'emporteront avec eux que leur vaisselle, chevaux, hardes, ou meubles domestiques, et il leur sera fourni des batteaux pour les transporter a Pondichery, bien entendu que les dits batteaux seront visité par un commissaire de nos troupes, en presence d'un commissaire Anglois nommé a cet effet.

V. THAT the Deputy Governor and Council, and the Company's servants be exchanged against an equal number of the French East-India Company's servants made prisoners by admiral Watson at Chandernagore; and, until the exchange

V. ACORDE', quoy que je n'aye pas lieu d'être content de Mr. Wynch, qui a manqué a ce qu'il me devoit ainsi qu'aux regles de la guerre.

takes



1758.

takes place, that they be permitted to go on their parole to Fort St. George.

VI. THAT the sick in the hospital which cannot be removed, have liberty to remain, under the care of their own surgeons; and that they be supplied with proper provisions and necessaries on paying for the same.

VII. THAT a captain and fifty of the English troops shall remain in the fort, to deliver it up, and that strict discipline be observed, that no irregularities be committed; and, after the surrender, to take the fate of the rest of the garrison.

VIII. THAT two commissaries shall remain, to deliver up all the magazines, ammunition, cannon, mortars, and goods, and point out to the engineers all the mines and subterraneous works.

IX. THAT no Company's servant, civil or military, be removed from

VI. ACORDE'.

VII. UN officier, et dix hommes, suffiront a cette operation parceque je ne feray entrer qu'une compagnie de grenadiers dans le fort jusques a ce qu'il soit evacue.

VIII. ACORDE'.

IX. ACORDE' mais ceu qui s'en absenteront sans passeport de moy, se-  
the

the coast of Coromandel,  
until the exchange shall  
take place.

AR. WYNCH.

P. POLIER DE BOTTENS.

RICH. FAIRFIELD.

Fort St. David,

June 2, 1758.

ront traittez comme es-  
pions.

1758.

LALLY.

#### Separate article.

THAT the deserters  
which were in the Eng-  
lish service at the time of  
the cartel settled between  
the Governors of Fort  
St. George and Pondi-  
cherry, shall be deemed  
as prisoners; and those  
which have deserted since  
the present war, be par-  
doned, and return to their  
colours.

AR. WYNCH.

P. POLIER DE BOTTENS.

RICH. FAIRFIELD.

Fort St. David,

June 2, 1758.

#### Acordé.

LA garnison sortira a  
cinq heures apres midy  
par la porte de L'Ouv-  
rage á corne ou elle de-  
posera ses armes et il sera  
permis aux officiers mili-  
taires et civils, de rester  
jusques a demain dans le  
fort, la compagnie des  
grenadiers de la seconde  
bataillon de Lorrain  
prendra possession de la  
porte de L'Ouvrage a  
corne, et de celle du fort  
qui y communique et s'y  
tiendra jusques a nouvel  
ordre.

LALLY.

THE loss of St. David's gave a great and just  
alarm to the government of Madras; as a much  
more resolute and obstinate defence had been expect-  
ed, from the known bravery of major Polier, who  
commanded the troops there: but it appeared, that  
very little care or œconomy was used in the manage-  
ment of their artillery and ammunition, as one offi-  
cer only of that department was in the place; the  
men who composed the garrison were drunk and dis-

1758. disorderly, and fully sensible of the little discipline they were under.

A COURT of enquiry was ordered at Madrafs, to examine and report facts: lieutenant-colonel Draper, the majors Brereton and Caillaud composed this court. They reported, That major Polier's personal behaviour was much to be commended, but that he was injudicious in defending two out-posts at some distance from the town, as his numbers were but weak, having only two hundred Europeans and eighty invalids, and about thirty of the artillery, whom he could properly call his garrison; the seamen from two frigates which had been run on shore and burnt, made the majority of his troops: the black forces deserted in great numbers. However, it was judged that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the French were not masters even of the outward covered way, had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could possibly be assaulted. The want of ammunition and water were urged as the principal excuses for its surrender; and that the powder with which all the mines were loaded were supposed to be spoiled by the dampness.

MAJOR POLIER, to wipe off the disgrace, was from that moment for fighting upon every occasion, whether proper or not; and, like other men in such situations, ran from one extreme to the other.

HE desired to go a volunteer with colonel Draper in the first sally made during the siege of Madrafs, and was mortally wounded. He was a brave man, but very hasty, passionate, and suspicious, which often occasioned much uneasiness both to himself and every one else. He had served the Company on several occasions

occasions with much reputation and conduct; and, it is thought, the ill opinion he entertained of his garrison was his motive for consenting to the giving up of St. David's. 1758.

M. LALLY's answer to the third article of the capitulation too plainly implied the inevitable destruction of the fortifications of St. David's. The works have since been blown up, and the whole reduced to an heap of ruins. The prejudice and partiality of the conquered, however they may complain, cannot justly condemn a general for an act of this nature; for, surely, the destruction of an enemy's fortress is one of the great ends of war. But the ruin of villas, and the injury done to many beautiful structures in the neighbouring country, will be a lasting reproach of wanton barbarity to the French. As for the devastations they committed in their march from St. David's, by plundering and burning the villages they passed through, they were immediately resented by the people of the country. The sufferers on this occasion had it in their power to take their revenge, and, by cutting off the supplies of the army, soon reduced them to such a state, that they were almost exhausted by famine as they lay before Tanjore.

On the 25th of July admiral Pocock sailed with the squadron under his command, and stood to the southward, along shore, with the sea and land breezes, and anchored on the evening of the 26th off Alamparvey; and seeing a snow and seven chelingas near the fort, close in, sent the boats manned and armed, who burnt and sunk the chelingas, and brought off the snow; the chelingas were all empty, and had been sent from Pondicherry with cannon and ordnance stores, which were all landed the day before; the snow was loaded with firewood for Pondicherry.

1758. THE 27th in the evening the Squadron got up within three leagues of Pondicherry road, where the French fleet was at anchor, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate. Our fleet consisted of only seven ships, being the same that were engaged in the last action, but some of them now differently commanded: captain Martin, who had before been left ill at Madras, now took the command of the Cumberland. Captain John Stukley Somerset was advanced from the Salisbury to the Weymouth, captain Colville had the Newcastle, and captain Brereton the Salisbury. Next morning, about ten o'clock, the enemy got under sail, and stood to the southward with the land breeze. Admiral Pocock made the signal to chase, in hopes of being able to get up with, or weather them if possible, that being the most probable means of bringing them to action; but they kept to windward, and the next morning anchored to the southward of Porto Novo. They then weighed and stood to windward with the land breeze, and about eight o'clock were out of sight. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the admiral discovering a ship in the south-east quarter, gave chase; at five she hoisted French colours, and stood for the land; he soon after run her on shore about two leagues to the northward of Porto Novo, and sent the boats on board to endeavour to get her off, but finding it impracticable without losing too much time, set her on fire. She proved to be the Restitution, bound to Pondicherry from Carical, where she had been sent with ordnance stores and other materials for M. Lally's army. This ship had sailed from Bengal last October with French prisoners, who mutinied, and taking the command of the ship from the master, carried her to Massulipatam, from whence she was sent to Pondicherry; where the Governor and Council, contrary to the law of nations, made a prize of her.

ON

ON the 1st of August, at ten o'clock in the afternoon, the admiral came in sight of the French squadron, as they were getting under sail off Tranquebar, and soon after they formed the line of battle a-head, with the starboard tacks on board, and seemed to edge down towards him; but when he made sail and stood for them, they hauled upon a wind till one o'clock, when they formed the line of battle a-breast, and bore down upon him with an easy sail. At half an hour past one he made the signal, and formed the line of battle a-head with the starboard tacks on board, and stood to the eastward under his topails, sometimes the main-topails square, as the ships stations required in the line, waiting for the enemy. At five the enemy's van was a-breast of our center, at about two miles distance; they stood on till their van was a-breast of ours, and kept about the same distance till half an hour past six, when they hoisted their topails, set their courses, hauled close upon a wind, and stood to the south east. The admiral then made the signal for our van to fill and stand on, and make sail to the southward, keeping in a line till twelve o'clock; and judging by the enemy's signal guns that they had tacked, made the signal to wear, and stood to the westward after them, but at daylight saw nothing of them.

IN the evening he descried four ships in shore to the north-west, and on the 3d at five in the morning, saw the enemy off Negapatam, about a league to windward, formed in the line of battle a-head with their starboard tacks on board. He made the signal and formed his line a-head, with the starboard tacks on board, and stood to the southward with an easy sail. At seven o'clock, observing the enemy kept their wind, he made the signal for making more sail, in order to get to windward, for that was the only probable means of bringing them soon to ac-

1758. tion, as they sailed better in general than our squadron. At half an hour past eight they began to edge down upon him, and at nine were at about three miles distance. He then made the signal for the Elizabeth and Tyger to change places in the line, apprehending the enemy's leading ship in the van might be an over match for the Tyger. At ten the enemy bore away, and steered for our rear, by which means on the sea breeze setting in about noon, our squadron got the weather gage of them; and at twenty minutes after, the admiral made the signal for the leading ship to steer six points from the wind, and at one o'clock got near, within random shot of them; their line being then in the form of a half moon, their van and rear being to windward of their center. About twenty minutes after, observing the enemy's ship in the van begin to fire on the Elizabeth, who was within musket shot of her, the admiral made the signal for battle, and began the engagement with the whole squadron. Mr. D'Aché, who was then under his topails, in about ten minutes after set his fore-sail, and kept more away; his squadron did the same, and continued a running fight in a very irregular line till two o'clock, when the Comte de Provence, the enemies leading ship, put before the wind, having cut away her mizen-mast on account of taking fire in the mizen top. Eight minutes after, the Zodiaque and the ship a-head of her kept more away, and were immediately followed by the ships in the rear, which continued in an irregular line a-breast, and increased their distance a little from us; on which admiral Pocock made the signal for a closer engagement, in order for all his line to bear down as soon possible and rake them, which was immediately obeyed; and we were able to keep within gun shot of them till three o'clock, when observing they began to make more sail, the admiral hauled down the signal for the line, and closer engagement, and made the

the general signal to chase; on which the enemy cut away their boats, and made all the sail they could, and stood about north north west; our squadron pursued them with all the sail they could crowd till near dark, when the enemy got off by outfailing us, and we were obliged to leave off chase, and at eight o'clock anchored off Carical. 1758.

THE damage we received was, chiefly in our masts and rigging, for the enemy's endeavours were (as in the former action) to dismast us. They did not appear to have suffered much in their rigging, but they had about five hundred and forty men killed and wounded; among the latter were Mr. D'Aché and his captain. There were no more than one and thirty English killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded. Commodore Stevens received a musquet ball in his shoulder, and captain Martin a wound in his leg by a splinter.

THE admiral had the pleasure, on this occasion, of writing to the board of Admiralty, that the behaviour of all his officers and men was, in this action, entirely to his satisfaction.

ON the 5th the Queenborough intercepted a French snow, named the Ruby, of about one hundred and twenty tons. She sailed from the islands the 1st of July, and was bound to Pondicherry, loaded chiefly with shot and medicines.

THE French squadron continued in Pondicherry road from the last action till the 3d of September, when they sailed and proceeded directly to the islands. Upon advice of their being sailed, the admiral sent the Queenborough off Ceylon; for as it was very early in the season, it was probable they might have



1758. been gone to cruize thereabouts. She returned the 17th without seeing them.

THE French were at this time driven to such shifts for want of money, that on the 7th of August they seized and carried into Pondicherry a large Dutch ship from Batavia, bound to Negapatam, and having taken for their own use all the money, to the amount of seven or eight lack of roupees; they unloaded the cargo and detained the ship. It is said that M. Duplex did the same last war.

THE Squadron having embarked major Caillaud, with two hundred and fifty men (from Trichinopoly) at Negapatam, landed them at Madrafs the 25th of September. They remained there, taking in their water and stores, till the season called upon them to proceed to Bombay. The admiral, before his departure, in consequence of an application from the select committee, landed a captain and lieutenant, with a hundred and three marines, as a farther strength to the garrison.

THE French had withdrawn their whole garrison from Seringam, except a few sepoy, who were left to deliver the place to the Maissoreans: but captain Caillaud, before his departure from Trichinopoly, had made a disposition for attacking it before the troops arrived from Maissore; and the French sepoy, upon his approach, abandoning the place, he took possession of it without any loss.

UPON the news, of the surrender of Fort St. David, the troops which garrisoned Arcot, Chengalapat and Carangoly, were ordered into Madrafs; for it was expected the enemy would attack that place next; but in case they should go to the southward, and invest Davecotah, which proved to be their de-

sign, the Chief there had orders to abandon the place; and if the Squadron should be near him, to go on board with his garrison, in order to come to Madras; if not, to retire to Trichinopoly; which last he effected without any difficulty, by passing through the Tanjore country. The French took possession of Davecotah; and soon after M. Lally crossed the Coleroon with his whole army, except seven or eight hundred men, which he left with M. Soupire; a part of these afterwards were sent to the southward. M. Lally marched by Tranquebar, and the Danes supplied him with some ammunition and field pieces. He then encamped in the bounds of Negapatam, and demanded of the Dutch a loan of money, and also of cannon, ammunition and provisions; but the Dutch denied that they assisted him with any thing, except provisions, of which they sent him continual supplies during the expedition to Tanjore. The first act of hostility committed by the French against the Tanjoreans, was the taking possession of Nagore, their sea port, and selling to Mr. Fisher, colonel of hussars in their service, for two lack and a half of roupes, all the effects that were found there belonging to the country merchants from all parts of India, to the value, as was computed, of twice that sum.

FROM Negapatam they marched to Trivalour, a pagoda, about fifteen miles on the road to Tanjore; there they established a magazine, and from thence sent deputies to demand of the King of Tanjore the payment of a note forced from him by the French army, and Chunda Saib, in the year 1749\*, for seventy-five lack of roupes; and also a free passage thro' his country, for the army to march against Trichinopoly. Captain Caillaud, who commanded in that place, being directed by the Presidency of Madras to use all his endeavours to prevent the King of Tan-

\* See page 5.

1758.

jore from being frightened into a compliance with these demands, had the satisfaction to find that the behaviour of the French at Nagore had provoked the King's resentment, and he had already ordered Monagee with his troops to oppose the march of the French. One thousand sepoy, and five hundred Collieries, were ordered to reinforce the Tanjoreans from Trichinopoly: but as it was not safe to part with any Europeans from that garrison, Monagee, with his country forces alone, was obliged to retreat before so large a body of regulars. It was then to be feared that they would be reduced to the necessity of an accommodation; but such was the opinion they had formed of the French, that they chose rather to stand a siege, than enter into a treaty with them. M. Lally, presuming that the constancy of their resolutions might be staggered by their late repulse, sent an embassy to Tanjore of two officers and a priest, to demand a passage for his army, by the nearest road to Trichinopoly; desiring at the same time the assistance of his troops. The King consented to a passage through his country, but not by the road which was desired. He also offered some money, but indeed a very small part of the sum demanded. As for the assistance of his troops, he absolutely refused it. With this answer the officers returned to camp, leaving behind them the priest, who some time after asked a second audience; at which, he not only insisted on the two former articles, but added to them the immediate payment of five lack of roupees. The King expressed great surprize at the presumption of the priest, but consented to give four lack; out of which he required some deduction should be made for the damage done at Nagore; and as to the other articles, he gave the same answer as before. While they were treating, the army still kept advancing; which justly increasing the suspicions of the King, he ordered the priest to be dismissed.

missed. At night the advanced guard of the French army fired some shot against the town, from two pieces of cannon, which of consequence put an end to all negotiation. 1758.

THE French lost every day some Europeans, by the frequent sallies from the town; at length they brought up their whole force against it, which amounted to two thousand three hundred and seventy regulars, and a great number of disciplined sepoys. The artillery which was already brought up, consisted of fourteen field pieces, and three of heavy cannon, and they had fourteen more at Trivalour. All this was not yet sufficient to defeat the Tanjoreans. At this very time they had sent out a body of horse, joined with the Polygars of the country, to cut off the communication of the French with Carical; and had already destroyed some convoys of provisions. Captain Caillaud having had the good fortune to keep the King of Tanjore steady to his true interests, had also prevailed on Tondeman to assist with all his people on this important occasion. A large body of his Peons entered Trichinopoly to reinforce that garrison, while a considerable party adapted for that service, were employed to harass the enemy and intercept their supplies. For these, and his former services, the Governor and Council thought proper to reward captain Caillaud with a major's commission.

M. I. ALLY finding that he did not advance his affairs by hostilities, and being in great want of provisions, and other necessaries, attempted once more to persuade the King of his sincerity, by sending him an officer of some rank and quality, and also a priest, who were at once appointed to conclude an agreement, and to remain as hostages. By this step he prevailed so far, as to receive in hand fifty thousand roupees, and a promise of four lack, as also of a supply

1758. ply of three hundred horse, and one thousand Col-  
 leries; and on his part he engaged immediately to re-  
 move the army from before the town. M. Lally  
 making no motions towards the performance of this  
 part of his agreement, the King of Tanjore refused  
 to let the two hostages return; and declared they  
 should not leave the town till the French army broke  
 up from before it. This produced several messages,  
 and, at length, it was agreed that the King should  
 forthwith send him the three hundred horse and Col-  
 leries; and for his own security he might detain the  
 gentlemen till the army was moved three days march  
 from the place. The advantages of this treaty were  
 all overthrown by the hasty temper of M. Lally,  
 who seeing only fifty of the three hundred horsemen  
 arrive in camp, ordered them all into confinement;  
 declaring aloud, that as the King had not kept his  
 word in sending the full number engaged for, he  
 would keep those he had prisoners till he should re-  
 ceive the whole.

THE King upon this confined the two hostages,  
 and would not send any more men till his people  
 were released. On the other hand, M. Lally, pleas-  
 ing himself with the thoughts of having brought  
 up all his heavy cannon, and erected batteries, while  
 he was amusing the King with a negotiation, began  
 to fire upon the town, and had even made a consi-  
 derable breach, when the Tanjoreans, determined on  
 a general sally. This they executed on the 9th of  
 August, with a surprizing success; for it will appear  
 surprizing, that a body of country troops, although  
 their number in horse, sepoy and Colleries was ex-  
 ceeding large, should make any impression upon so  
 strong an army of Europeans, and disciplined sepoy,  
 as M. Lally had under his command, supported by  
 a large train of artillery. They attacked at once the  
 French camp and batteries, killed about one hundred  
 Europeans,

Europeans, took one gun, one tumbril of ammunition, two elephants, and some horse; blew up four tumbrils of ammunition, and then returned into the town. 1758.

M. LALLY quitting at once all his designs, retreated towards Carical, leaving his guns spiked upon the batteries. The Tanjoreans did not pursue him till the morning, when they came up with him upon his march, cut off fifty more of his men, and took two pieces of cannon and two mortars. The rest made their retreat to Trivalour, and from thence to Carical; and about the end of the month, the greatest part of the troops, and M. Lally himself, returned to Pondicherry. M. Soupire arrived there a few days before, after making a march towards Wandewash, and back by the way of Alamparvey.

THEY moved again about the beginning of October, and took possession of Arcot; they then returned, and having taken Tripassore, continued some time at Conjeveram, collecting ammunition and stores, till they were joined by M. De Buffy, with a body of three or four hundred foot and as many horse, from Golconda. Having also retaken Trinomalay, they shewed by their motions a design upon Chengalaput; advancing towards that place with three or four hundred Europeans, five hundred sepoys, and five pieces of cannon; but were prevented by the arrival of four companies of sepoys. This reinforcement came very opportunely for the preservation of a post of so much consequence, as it covered all the countries on this side the Pollar; and, when in possession of the enemy, would expose even our own limits to incursion, be a harbour for deserters from our own garrison, and prevent supplies of firewood, grain, and other provisions, from coming

1758. ing into the town. For these reasons it was resolved, that the present garrison of nine companies of sepoy, with a serjeant, corporal, and twelve gunners, should be reinforced by a detachment of seventy Europeans. This was the more readily determined, as there would be no expence of transporting stores, the pay of the sepoy would be no more there than at Madras, and yet their force would be sufficient to resist any sudden assault. The enemy, if they resolved to take the place, must have been under a necessity of bringing up their whole army, or at least a considerable part of it, and also a train of battering cannon, with proportionable stores: all which would be attended with such an expence and loss of time, as they would probably think more than equal to the benefits arising from the conquest of the place. The justness of these conclusions appeared in the end; for the enemy, influenced by the same reasons, waved their designs upon the place, which, it is to be supposed, they heartily repented during the siege of Madras. Captain Preston was ordered to take the command of the fort, and to repair the works: he soon put it into such a state as made it defensible against a coup de main, and by that means secured it till such time as M. Lally heard of the arrival of colonel Draper's regiment on the Malabar coast, and then he hastened every thing for the immediate attack of Madras.

COLONEL DRAPER himself arrived in September, with part of his regiment; and about the middle of October it was determined that he should march with a battalion of our troops as far as Wandelour, while colonel Lawrence took post with another at the Mount, to be in readiness to support the former. This was done to make the enemy cautious of bringing a heavy train on this side the river; and, by the  
check

check it gave to their motions, secured an opportunity of supplying the garrison of Chengalaput with the needful stores. 1758.

IN the mean time, Isouf Cawn was ordered to march towards them from Trichinopoly; and he accordingly set out the 20th of November with two thousand well disciplined sepoy, and two light field-pieces. In his way he took Ellavanafore.

THE Nabob having recommended to the Governor the engaging a party of Marattas, as the most effectual method of preventing the enemy from transporting their artillery by land for the siege of Fort St. George, a proposal was sent to Morarow soon after the loss of St. David's, with which he complied, and engaged to send his Vakeel to Madras to settle the terms. According to their dilatory way of proceeding, the Vakeel did not arrive till October; it was then agreed that Morarow should send two thousand horse to our assistance; that five thousand roupees should be advanced at Royal Cherow, a place near Tripety, for the expence of five hundred horse, which were to march upon the first notice, so as to arrive at Chengalaput in twenty-five days from the time the Vakeel should leave Madras.

THAT ten thousand roupees, for the expence of the other fifteen hundred horse, should be paid at Guttey, from which place they were to set out, and arrive at Chengalaput in forty-five days from the time the Vakeel should leave Madras; and that ten thousand roupees should be paid on the arrival of the said two thousand horse at Chengalaput. The twenty-five thousand roupees advanced as above to be deducted out of the allowance to the troops of half a roupee per day each horseman; which was to commence from the day of their arrival at Chengalaput.

THE



1758: THE Vakeel further desired an allowance might be settled to the Sardars (or commanders of the troops) and also for each horse which should be killed in our service in the time of action; and it was accordingly agreed that an allowance of thirty roupees per day should be made for all the Sardars and Jemidars; and that for a Sardar's horse killed in battle one thousand roupees should be allowed, and four hundred roupees for each horse belonging to the rest of the troops.

INTELLIGENCE being received that M. Lally had been reinforced by the daily junction of considerable parties, it was thought no longer advisable to trust a part of our force at so great a distance as Wandelour; therefore colonel Draper was desired to return to the Mount as soon as he should hear that the stores, for the protection of which he remained till then in those parts, were safely arrived. Colonel Draper accordingly moved from Wandelour the 11th of November, and joined the other battalion at the Mount.

THIS place, of which mention has been already made, and which will hereafter frequently be spoken of, is an eminence, properly called St. Thomas's Mount, from an ancient tradition, that the Apostle St. Thomas had preached the gospel to the Indians on that spot. He has always been considered as the tutelar saint of the place, and at this day a Portuguese priest officiates in a chapel dedicated to him, which stands on the top of the Mount. It is justly esteemed for the goodness of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation, on which account a number of villas have been built by the gentlemen of Madras, with gardens all surrounded with brick walls breast high. In this station, which is about nine miles from St. Fort George, the two battalions remained

maintained till the 6th of December; when colonel Lawrence receiving intelligence of a great augmentation of the enemy's force at Wandelour, sent his aid de camp to Fort St. George, to desire he might be reinforced with as many more men as possible. Accordingly, a party was ordered, and marched that afternoon at five o'clock; but at the same time the Governor was desired to write to colonel Lawrence, to remind him that the utmost caution was necessary at this important crisis; and that it would be too hazardous to venture an action, unless upon terms of the highest advantage. 1758.

COLONEL LAWRENCE having received the Governor's letter, and at the same time hearing the enemy was in motion, and considering the weak state of the garrison, ordered three companies of infantry to march to the little Mount with the two twelve pounders, as if to reinforce the party cantoned there; but at the same time they were directed to march to Madrafs. These motions were made the 7th, and now the danger of Chengalaput being removed, and that fort having received all its supplies, the reasons for maintaining the post at the Mount no longer subsisted: therefore it was determined to draw the whole force nearer to the garrison; and accordingly the enemy having advanced within sight of the Mount in the afternoon of the 9th, our army retired that evening to the Choultry-plain, and there encamped.

THE French army under the command of M. Lally, encamped at the Mount, and their advanced guard took post at Marmelan.

THE enemy having marched from the Mount, the 12th in the morning, appeared about day-break upon Choultry-plain. Our army after about two hours cannonading, retired into the garrison, and the enemy

1758. my encamped upon the spot which our troops abandoned, about a mile and a half to the southward. At the same time their advanced guards took possession of the Garden-house, and the neighbouring village, in order to invest the town. The whole force of the enemy was three thousand five hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoys, and as many horse.

Nothing of any consequence passed the next day, which was chiefly spent in reconnoitring; this occasioned a few shot to be fired, but without much effect.

Three posts which we held in the Black Town were reinforced, not with a design to make an obstinate resistance, but to retard their progress as much as possible, and then retreat towards the fort in such a manner, as to run no risk of being cut off.

Early in the morning of the 14th of December, M. Lally marched in two columns to attack, and take possession of the Black Town, whose large extent made it impossible for our small force to dispute it with the enemy; there had been posted only two or three picquets in such parts as were nearest to Fort St. George. Upon M. Lally's approach, they made a hasty retreat towards the Fort, and increased the general confusion, which at first was but too visible, occasioned by the numbers of black people, women, and children, who came thronging towards the fort for protection. It appeared necessary to do something immediately, to restore the spirits of the garrison; and to convince the enemy that we were not to be taken so easily as they had been taught to believe. Colonel Draper imagining that the most probable means of producing this effect might be by making a sally, and dislodging the enemy, whilst they were yet unsettled, and perhaps plundering;  
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for indeed their apparent contempt of the garrison, and known want of discipline, seemed to invite to the undertaking, resolved to offer himself to command a party for that service. He communicated his thoughts to the Governor and colonel Lawrence, to whose superior authority, and great judgment, he paid the utmost deference. They were both of his opinion; and, according to his request, gave him five hundred men and two field pieces. At the same time one hundred and fifty men under major Brereton, marched at some distance upon colonel Draper's right flank, to observe Lally's brigade, and prevent their coming upon them from the north part of the Black Town, by which they had entered.


THE men marched out of the garrison with great resolution; and had their regularity and obedience to orders been equal to their spirits, much might have been done; for the French suffered our people to form upon their left flank, mistaking them for Lally's brigade. The fire of our artillery loaded with grape, soon convinced them of their error; they immediately fell into the greatest confusion, abandoned their cannon, and thought of nothing but saving themselves. Had a proper advantage been made of this critical moment, the consequence might have been fatal to the enemy. Colonel Draper's exhortations to the soldiery, to cease firing, and push the broken remains of the French with fixed bayonets, were quite ineffectual; though he himself advanced forwards to set them the example. But as he was followed only by four grenadiers, being unsupported, he was obliged to retire; for of the four brave fellows who went on with him, two were killed, the other two dangerously wounded.

COLONEL DRAPER's march, positions, and retreat, are represented by a dotted line in the plan of Madras.

1758. drafts. The colonel proceeded through the street by the line (1) till he came to (3), where he perceived some of the enemy, and received a scattering fire. To check them he left two platoons, and marched on with the rest to the position (6), where he had a fair view of the Lorraine regiment and Indian battalions in the flank (4), for they expected him in another street a little higher up (2), and had pointed four guns in that direction. Our cannon (6) began to play briskly with grape, and together with the musketry, made such havock among the enemy, that they soon fell into confusion, and ran a-cross the street under cover of some huts.

COLONEL DRAPER then advanced towards their guns (from which they had only fired three shot) and exchanged a pistol with the officer, who offered to surrender them; and had there been any men to bring them off, they would have been taken: but our troops having, like the French, thrown themselves in among some old walls, and under cover of houses, gave the enemy time to rally; and confusion became so visible among our people, that colonel Draper thought it most prudent to retreat, which he began by marching down the street, as the dotted line (8) shews; but unfortunately about eighty of his men not paying a due regard to the motions of the rest, (which might be owing to the black drummers having run away, who should have beat the retreat,) were shut up by the enemy in the square (7), and taken prisoners: colonel Draper being joined by major Brereton at (6), who had marched to support him by the line (9), continued his retreat with little loss to the fort, notwithstanding the regiment of Lally came from the Armenian church to the little bridge (10), and, with two pieces, fired grape at our troops passing along (8), but they mostly fell short.

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COULD regularity and obedience to the officers orders have been preserved among the men in this <sup>1758.</sup>  sally, it might in all probability have prevented the siege of Madrafs, and have ended in the total overthrow of the Lorraine regiment, and the two battalions of India; as it was, they had thirty officers or more killed and wounded, and near three hundred men. The count D'Estaing, a brigadier general, was taken prisoner in the beginning of the action. Our loss was major Polier mortally wounded; captain Pascall shot through the body; captain Hume mortally wounded and taken; captain lieutenant Bilhock killed; lieutenant Elliot shot through the body; lieutenant Smith wounded and taken; lieutenant Blair wounded and taken; ensign Cook wounded and taken; and ensign Chase mortally wounded and taken. Our loss of men was one hundred and three taken, of which nineteen were wounded, about fifty were left dead on the spot, and the same number came in wounded; so that we suffered a diminution of more than two hundred men, and nine officers.

IN the beginning of December major Caillaud, from his known interest and influence with the country powers, was sent with letters from the Presidency to the King of Tanjore, Tondeman, and the other Polygars in that part of the country, in order to procure assistance from them, with which the major was to join captain Preston and Isouf Cawn, and take the command of that party.

THE danger both from the enemy and the season were no small objections to this undertaking; for as it was extremely difficult to guard against the former, the danger of the latter was not less to be apprehended, since it was the very height of the Monsoon; and there was no way of going to the south-  
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ward

1759. ward but by sea in an open boat, within the reach of many garrisons which the enemy now possessed on the coast. The Presidency having duly weighed all these difficulties, were determined at length to hazard them on account of the uncertain state of affairs at the court of Tanjore, and the danger of its falling under the absolute influence of the French. Major Caillaud was therefore ordered to proceed, which he did in the manner aforementioned; and having overcome all the difficulties which of consequence attended such a voyage at that season, he landed at the Danish Fort of Tranquebar; from whence, as soon as the rains abated, which was about the middle of December, he reached Tanjore. He found, at his arrival, the face of that court strangely altered. Monagee, the Prime Minister, and all his adherents had been turned out, and a new set placed at the head of affairs. When he spoke to the King, he found him ready to consent to every thing he asked; but as soon as his back was turned, the new council overset it all, by persuading the King it was better to wait and see the event, and then side with the strongest, according to the policy of eastern courts. This did not absolutely discourage the major, who persevered till he was promised a body of five hundred horse, which were to be got ready as soon as possible. While this was in agitation, the major received the first advices that the enemy had invested Madras, and were in possession of the Black Town. The King had also received the account; and as it is natural to suppose, the example of Fort St. David, which had been so soon given up, and his fears for the fate of the only settlement we had left, created new doubts and new delays. Major Caillaud was put off from day to day, but at last he carried his point, though for no more than three hundred horse, which the company was to pay. He had collected about the same number of sepoys, all

chosen men, well disciplined and active, and so they proved; for in eleven days they marched two hundred and fifty miles, and got to Chengalaput. There he heard the party he was to command was at the Mount. Upon this intelligence, the major, leaving his men who were too much fatigued to follow him at that time, took fresh horses and arrived at the Mount about two in the morning. 1759.

HERE he found that Isouf Cawn, (who after several encounters had still fifteen hundred sepoy, and two thousand horse) had been joined by captain Preston, with part of the garrison of Chengalaput, consisting of about six hundred sepoy, sixty Europeans, and six three pounders. There were also added to this party, captain Vasserot, with ten of his troopers. The occasion of his coming was the immediate necessity of supplying this little army with money, which being indispensibly urgent, captain Vasserot offered himself to lead ten of his troopers, who should each carry a bag of a thousand pagodas to the camp, and this he most gallantly effected.

WITH this body of troops captain Preston had frequently cut off the enemy's supplies by land, and surprized one convoy with a number of spare arms and tents for three thousand men, which he took. He kept M. Lally in constant alarms, by continually moving about, but still keeping so near him, as greatly to disturb and harass him. Captain Preston had repulsed several detachments from the French army; and, in one action, which had been very severe, had the good fortune to disperse great part of the black forces, which obliged the enemy to move off towards Arcot to recruit; from whence they had returned with an augmentation of the country troops three days before major Caillaud joined the army.



1759. CAPTAIN PRESTON's activity, as it merited all the acknowledgments which were bestowed on it by the garrison, was, in effect, the greatest interruption to the besiegers. At length Mr. Lally, thoroughly sensible of the check this flying camp could at all all times give to his designs, resolved to send such a force against them as would crush them effectually. He used to say they were like the flies, no sooner beat off from one part, but they came to another. For this purpose he ordered a detachment of six hundred Europeans, fifteen hundred sepoy, all his cavalry, (which consisted of near three hundred European dragoons, and about one hundred hussars, with a thousand Marattas,) and ten pieces of cannon, to attack them. Notice being received before day that a large body of the enemy were advancing, major Caillaud prepared to receive them, by posting his troops to the best advantage. It has already been said, that round the bottom of the Mount, many inclosures had been made, and gardens laid out, surrounded with brick walls parapet high not to intercept the prospect. On the Mount, and behind these garden walls, the major had made the best disposition he could of his infantry. His cavalry were all drawn up on the right, being the best spot where they could act. As the day broke the enemy appeared in sight, and the cannonade began. Their cavalry was inclining very fast to the right, about three hundred paces from the front of our left. It was mostly their Europeans who pushed on that side, while their sepoy endeavoured to occupy all the banks and places on our left, for there they could be under cover. Their cavalry made a stand as soon as they came opposite to ours, to whom orders were immediately sent to charge. They readily obeyed, and moved on with a good countenance for about one hundred yards; but finding the enemy were advancing upon them with the same intention, they  
were

were seized with a pannick, and fled with the utmost precipitation. 1759.

THE French cavalry who were foremost, pursued a little too eagerly a large body that were pressing through an interval, which is between the village and the foot of the Mount. They were soon stopped by a discharge from a party of foot, which had been posted there. Upon this they retreated, not without loss. Things went on a little better on the left. The village was well defended, and two or three times taken and retaken, till at length, after three hours dispute, it was lost by the rashness of the officer who commanded that post; who seeing the enemy retreat in some confusion, indiscreetly pursued, not observing a party that was ready to support them. This party stopped him, and drove him out of the village which he never could recover.

THUS stood affairs about ten o'clock in the morning, when the enemy, tired of attacking, contented themselves with cannonading us severely, in hopes, by that means, they might dislodge us: but though our people suffered a good deal, they could not prevail; therefore about four they made another attack; but the garden walls were so lined with musquetry, that it quite dispirited them, and they began to think of a retreat. At the close of the evening they moved off their artillery, and soon after their whole body, and left us masters of the field of battle, where we remained about two hours, which was all the time that major Caillaud thought proper to stay, having no ammunition left for his artillery, and very little for the musquetry: he therefore moved off in the night towards Chengalaput, the only place from whence he could be supplied. The loss of the enemy in this affair was about one hundred and seventy.

1759. Europeans killed and wounded, and near three hundred sepoys.

IN the beginning of the siege, M. Lally, who had made very free with the Dutch ever since his arrival in the country, was pleased to give them another proof of what little respect he paid to their neutrality, by seizing the fort of Sadras, a settlement of theirs on the coast, equally distant from Pondicherry and Madras. Being resolved to make a magazine of this place, he turned out the Dutch soldiers and garrisoned it with French; giving for a reason, that he did it to prevent our taking it, which he pretended was our design.

WHEN it had passed into the hands of our enemy, major Caillaud thought proper to lay a plan for surprising it, and disposed his march so as to be there about four o'clock in the morning. The darkness of the night deceiving the guides, he could not reach Sadras, which is twenty miles from Chengalput, till late next day, which effectually disappointed his scheme, as he was not strong enough to attempt it by open force. An accident, however, made him amends for his disappointment. At night his patrols brought him one of M. Lally's messengers, with a letter directed to the Governor of Pondicherry; which is so extraordinary, that it would be unpardonable not to insert it with the other occurrences relative to the siege of Fort St. George; especially as it is a most authentic proof that the garrison owed their deliverance to their own bravery and conduct, and not to the arrival of the ships, since they did not appear till after the writing of this letter.

Au camp devant Madras le 14 Février, 1759. 1759.

MONSIEUR,

“ Il auroit un beau coup a faire ici, il y a un Vaifseau en cette rade de vingt pieces de canon chargé de toutes les richesses de Madras et qu'on dit y devoir refter jufqu'au vingtieme: L'Expedition vient d'arriver mais M. Gorlin n'est point homme a l'attaquer, puis qu'il l'a déjà fait fuir une fois. Le Bristol d'un autre coté a peine a paru à St. Thomé que fur la nouvelle vague des treize Vaiffeaux de Portonove il a pris l'epouvante et après avoir débarqué les munitions dont il étoit chargé, il n'a feulement pas voulu fe donner le tems de reprendre douze pieces de fon canon quil nous avoit preté pendant le fiegé; fi j'étoit juge du point d'honneur des officiers de la compagnie, je le cafferois comme un verre, ainfi que quelques autres: ou la Fidelle ou ce même Brillol, avec fes douze canons de plus, fuffiroit pour fe rendre maître du batiment Anglois, s'il pouvoit parvenir a gagner le vent fur luy dans l'obfcurité de la nuit. Maugendre et Tremillier font, dit on, très bons et ne duflent ils ferver qu'au transport de deux cens bleffés que nous avons ici, le fervice feroit d'importance.

“ Nous fommes toujours dans la même pofition: la breche faite depuis quinze jours, toujours à quinze toizes du mur de la place, et jamais ne levant la tête pour la regarder. Je compte qu'en arrivant à Pondichery nous chercherons tous a apprendre quelque autre metier, car celui de la guerre exige trop de patience.

“ De quinze mille Cipayes dont l'armée eft censée composée, j'en compte a peu près huit cens fur la route de Pondichery, chargé de fucre et de poivre  
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1759. et autres marchandises, quant aux Coulis, ils sont tous employés pour le même objet depuis le jour que nous sommes arrivé ici.

“ JE prendrai mes mesures dès aujourd’huy pour embraser la ville noire et faire sauter la Poudriere, vous n’imaginerez jamais que ce sont cinquante deserteurs François et une centaine de Suisses qui tiennent en arret deux mille hommes des troupes du Roy et de la Compagnie qui sont encore ici existant, malgré les états surchargés que chacun fait ici a sa guise de la boucherie qu’on en a fait, et vous serez encore plus surpris si je vous disois, que sans les deux combats et les quatre batailles que nous avons essuyé, et sans les deux batteries qui ont été manquées ou faites de travers, pour parler plus clairement, nous n’aurions pas perdu cinquantes hommes depuis le commencement du siege, jusques aujourd’huy. J’ay écrit à M. de Larche, s’il persiste a ne point venir ici, tirera de l’argent qui voudra des Poleagares, ce ne sera pas moy, et je renonce, comme je vous en ai déjà prevenu il y a plus d’un mois, a me meler directement ni indirectement de tout ce qui peut avoir rapport a vôtre administration, soit civile soit militaire; J’irai plus tôt commander les Caffres de Madagascar que de rester dans cette Sodome, qu’il n’est pas possible que le feu des Anglois ne detruise tôt ou tard au defaut de celuy du Ciel.

J’ay l’honneur d’être, &c.

L A L L Y.”

“ JE suis obligé de vous prevenir que Mr. De Soudire ayant refusé de prendre le commandement de cette armée que je luy ai offert, et auquel il est autorisé par le double de mes expéditions que la cour luy avoit remis, il faudra que malgré vous, avec le conseil, vous vous en chargiez. Je m’engage seule-  
ment

ment a vous la ramener soit a Arcatte, soit a Sadrafs, envoyez y vos ordres, ou portez vous y vous même pour la Commander, car je la quite en y arrivant."

1759.

TRANSLATION of an intercepted letter from  
M. LALLY to M. DE LEYRIT.

From the camp before Madrafs, the 14th of Febr. 1759.

"A GOOD blow might be struck here: there is a ship in the road, of twenty guns, laden with all the riches of Madrafs, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The Expedition is just arrived, but M. Gorlin is not a man to attack her; for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas, and on the vague report of thirteen ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright; and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough, even to take on board twelve of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

"IF I was the judge of the point of honour of the Company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

"THE Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the afore-said Bristol, with her twelve guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are said to be good men; and were they employed only to transport two hundred wounded men, that we have here, their service would be of importance.

"WE remain still in the same position: the breach made these fifteen days; all the time within fifteen  
toises

1759. toises of the wall of the place, and never holding up  
our heads to look at it.

“ I RECKON we shall, at our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade ; for this of war requires too much patience.

“ OF fifteen hundred sepoy's which attended our army, I reckon near eight hundred are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods ; and as for the Coulis, they are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we came here.

“ I AM taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black-town, and to blow up the powder-mills.

“ YOU will never imagine, that fifty French deserters, and one hundred Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of two thousand men of the King's and Company's troops, which are still here existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made of them ; and you will be still more surprized, if I tell you, that, were it not for the two combats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or, to speak more properly, which were unskilfully made, we should not have lost fifty men, from the commencement of the siege to this day.

“ I HAVE wrote to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Polygars for me, I will not do it : and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling, directly or indirectly, with any thing  
what-

whatever that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go <sup>1759.</sup> and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy, sooner or later, even though that from Heaven should not.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Signed, L A L L Y."

"P. S. I THINK it necessary to apprise you, that, as M. de Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is impowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back, either to Arcot or Madras. Send therefore your orders, or come yourselves to command it; for I shall quit it upon my arrival there."

UPON the receipt of this letter, which was immediately sent to Madras, major Caillaud marched back again, to be near the fort, and to be ready for what service might be required of him. M. Lally had not time to execute his intentions of burning the Blacktown, for on the 16th in the evening; at length arrived our long expected reinforcement: on their first appearance he got ready for his march, and the next morning he was near out of sight. He left behind him all his heavy cannon, about forty pieces, and a large quantity of stores. And thus Madras was saved, after a siege of nine weeks, to the great honour of all those who were concerned in its defence. Colonel Lawrence, who commanded, had the satisfaction to see all his services in the country crowned by a most honourable defence of the capital. His judgment and



1759. and experience were nobly seconded by the spirited conduct and bravery of colonel Draper and major Brereton. The Governor, Mr. Pigot, contributed also greatly to their success, by his prudent management of the stores, and the regularity which he enforced: he frequently visited all the posts, and was very liberal to those who distinguished themselves upon the works.

THE sum of fifty thousand rousees had been promised, as an encouragement and reward to the garrison for their good behaviour, in case they should, by their resistance, oblige the enemy to raise the siege. Immediately upon the going off of the French the money was issued, and two thirds distributed among the Europeans, and one third to the sepoy and Lascars.

A SIEGE which occasioned the exertion of so much judgment, skill, and indefatigable activity, as were shewn by the Governor and military officers, deserves to be recorded in the most circumstantial manner; especially as the minute operations for the defence of the works will be instructive to all who either practice or delight in the art of fortification. It is very fortunate that a particular detail of all the operations has been delivered, in a journal taken upon the spot by the principal engineer: such a curiosity must be the more acceptable, as it is certainly rare; there having been few instances, of late years, of any place which has been so seriously attacked, and so obstinately and successfully defended.


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A  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
Siege of Fort St. George,

Begun the 12th of December, 1758;

Ended the 17th of February, 1759.

By J. CALL, CHIEF ENGINEER.

**D**URING the fall, the enemy fired several 1758.  
shot from some field-pieces into the fort, but   
did no damage; they were quiet the remaining part Thurf-  
of the day, and we only fired a few cannon on those day  
places where we imagined they were at work. No Dec. 14.  
Europeans were to be had this day for a working  
party; but I luckily collected a few Cooleys, brick-  
layers, and other artificers, and set them to make a  
dam in the gut at (c), to shut up the communica-  
tion

1758. tion between the water in the river and ditch, lest the enemy should cut the dam (d), which kept up the water two feet or more, and thereby drain so much off. This was a piece of work on which much depended, and which, with difficulty, I got finished before night. I also set up a pallisadoe in an opening under the south flank of the royal bastion (e), and removed some gabions, fascines, and other materials, which were in the way on the ramparts.

Dec. 15. SEVERAL deserters have come in from the enemy this day and yesterday; who all agree in their reports, that the enemy lost many men and officers in yesterday's action. The enemy fired not a shot this day from cannon or small arms, nor have they been perceived any where at work; though we have many informations of their erecting batteries, and fire now and then at the suspected places. By the enemy's reconnoitring and situation, it seems as if they intended to attack the north front by the north-east angle; I therefore considered what was most necessary to be done to oppose them, and resolved to compleat the blind which I intended before the old north-east bastion, and to erect a fascine battery on the glacis, before the shoulder of the east face of the north-east bastion; which battery is to reach quite down to the surf, and intended to sweep under the bank of the glacis, which had been cut down by the sea, and afforded good cover for an enemy. It was also determined to set up a pallisadoe before the sea gate, and to close up with stones the small gate on each side the large one. A captain, two subalterns, and one hundred men, besides all the blacks I could collect, were ordered on the above services, with Mess. Leigh, Eifer, and Stevenson, engineers.

16. A PARTY of forty volunteers, and forty sepoy, were this night ordered out, about eleven o'clock,

to

to give the enemy an alert, and, if possible, nail up some pieces of cannon which it was said were in the Black-town; but they had not proceeded much beyond the glacis, before the enemy's advanced sentinels gave their fire, and alarmed their whole force; so that our party, on hearing the drum beat to arms, retired. A party of one hundred soldiers, and sixty-five sepoys, were this morning paraded for working, and distributed chiefly to the works mentioned yesterday, which were nearly finished by night; and the pallisadoe round the sea gate Viranda entirely compleated. Fascines were also laid round, to form a parapet on that part of the sea gate battery which had none; and some sand bags laid for the same purpose in part of the barbet battery towards the sea: earth was also laid on the arch over the magazine under the old west curtain, and over part of the hospital adjoining.

LAST night, about eight o'clock, the enemy gave Dec. 17.  
an alarm, by a few men coming near the glacis and giving their fire: nothing remarkable happened afterwards. This day one hundred men, two serjeants, and one corporal, were on a working party, but the weather being very rainy, little was done; they, and about two hundred blacks, were chiefly employed on the two batteries mentioned the 15th, to the north-east, in thickening the parapets of the old north-east bastion, compleating the barbet battery with sand-bags, laying earth on the hospital arches, fixing a pallisadoe to close the communication from the covered way on each side to the north ravelin, and repairing some cheeks of the embrasures on the demi-bastion, besides other trifling repairs. The enemy was not for certain perceived to be any where at work, though single guns (by way of security in the night, I suppose) were perceived in some of the streets. Very few shot were fired by us, and fewer shells,

1758. shells, during this day. Several deserters came in last night and this evening; from whom we learnt the enemy had some mortars arrived at St. Thomé. The governor this day gave it out publickly, that he would distribute fifty thousand roupees among the garrison five days after the siege was raised, or the French beat off.

Dec. 18. This morning it was perceived that the enemy had thrown up a breast-work (A) from the houses on the beach near the Old-town, to the sea side; but whether intended for a battery, or to prevent any attempt of ours on their flank, cannot be said, tho' I believe the latter; because the trench from whence the sand has been taken is on the side of the enemy, contrary to the method of making batteries; something of the same kind was perceived in the streets next the sea, but no guns or mortars have yet been fired, or appeared ready for that purpose. On our side, a very few shot or shells were thrown. The gentlemen of the squadron, and marines, who had been on board a Dutch snow the 12th, with an intent to go and take the French ship which is coming up with their stores, were this morning landed, being very unwilling to undertake the expedition; and having been detained by bad weather so long in the road that it was supposed they were discovered. Captain Jasper, who was to have commanded them, appeared much chagrined at his disappointment; and indeed with reason, for had he succeeded (and I think he had great reason to expect success) nothing could have done us more service, or the enemy greater prejudice. A great many people were perceived to-day moving from the Mount towards the Black-town, which we apprehended were bringing up the enemy's stores. It is very remarkable, that thirty-three deserters have come in from the enemy since their

their arrival, and not one man has deserted from the garrison, or been seen in liquor. 1758.

A PEON came in and informed us, that captain Dec. 18. Freston had sent out a party, under lieutenant Airey, from Chengalaput, which had intercepted a convoy of the enemy's stores, consisting of tents sufficient for the covering of three thousand men, a large mortar, which he spiked up, and burnt the bed; two guns, which he also spiked, and burnt the carriages; and some ammunition, which he carried off, with all the bullocks. No deserters last night; which is owing, I suppose, to some extraordinary care or orders of M. Lally's. The working party was this day about one hundred men, without officers; they, and the black artificers, were chiefly employed in fixing a pallisadoe before the new battery by the sea side; opening another embrasure in that battery; cutting down the high bank which the surf had made by washing away the glacis; thickening the parapets of the old north-east bastion; repairing the embrasures with palmeiras, which had been blown away by our guns; laying earth on the hospital; fixing a pallisadoe on the gorge of the north ravelin, and repairing a dam (c), which had been made in the gut to the north-west to keep the water in the ditch; but the water had rose so high by the last four days rain, that half the dam was destroyed, and the water considerably sunk.

This morning we perceived that the enemy had Dec. 19. thrown up another breast-work, about sixty feet in length, and one hundred yards, or more, advanced before that thrown up the preceding night; both these retrenchments terminate on the surf, the latter at the distance of about five hundred yards from the north-east salient angle of the covered way, and seem rather intended to cover a guard posted there to prevent

1758. vent a surprize, or desertion, than for any annoyance to the fort; however, from the proceeding of the enemy it appears as if they intended to advance along the beach, and attack the demi and north east bastions; it is therefore resolved that platforms should be raised in the covered way, sufficiently high for field-pieces, on covered way carriages, to fire over the parapet. It is further resolved to raise a parapet of the demi-bastion, near the saliant angle, two or three feet higher than the rest, and to erect a traverse on the east wing, to prevent an enfilade; to raise the blind before the north-east bastion, so high as will just admit the guns to fire over it at the enemy's works; that the passage between the upper and lower flank of the demi-bastion should be closed in the securest manner; and that the north ravelin should be put in the best condition of defence we might have time or workmen to do. The working party, of about one hundred men, with such Cooleys, Pallan-keen boys and others, as I could collect, were set about the several articles abovementioned. The firing on our side was little to day, except from wall pieces; and not even a musket shot came from the enemy. Five chelingas were seen this morning going out of St. Thomé bar, and failed to the southward, as we apprehended for stores.

Dec. 20. LAST night the subaltern on duty in the north-east angle of the covered way, with twenty one men and some sepoy, was ordered to sally on the retrenchment and works which we supposed the enemy was carrying on; but it being rather too light, they were discovered, and the sepoy taking a panic at a party of six horse which appeared, ran away, which intimidated the Europeans, and they, after giving their fire, retreated also. We had one European killed and two dangerously wounded: the sepoy suffered in the same manner. The commandant of se-  
poy

poys, Jamaul Saib, being desirous of attacking St. Thomè last night, was sent out with ten companies of sepoy; but taking the direct road over the Long-bridge, he was discovered by a few French sepoy at Mr. Powney's house, who gave him their fire; upon which most of his people threw down their arms, which induced him to return. The enemy, we could perceive this morning, had been at work last night, and, to appearance, had drawn about fifty yards of a parallel westward from their most advanced breast-work. They also had got a gun behind their first breast-work, and from thence fired several shot at the snow which lay in the road under Dutch colours; the shot mostly fell short, one or two entered and killed a Lafcar; the vessel therefore weighed and stood a little farther off, as well to avoid any annoyance from thence, as to prevent a surprize. A boat appearing off St. Thomè, a party of marines was sent in three mollulas to fetch her in, which they effected, and found her to be a boat going from Sadrafs to Pulliacat. The working party was this day one hundred men, and employed, as yesterday, except on the old north east bastion, the parapets of which were finished. This afternoon the artillery serjeant on the north east bastion, intending to fire a discharge of grape at some of the enemy which appeared at their breast works, unfortunately some scattering shot fell into the covered way, and miserably wounded three Cooleys who were rolling gabions upon the work there carrying on.

LAST night we fired shot or shells every eight or ten minutes, on the place where we suspected the enemy would work, and by that means prevented them from doing any thing more than throwing up an imperfect communication from the first to the second breast-work. Advice being brought in last night, that the enemy had two guns at Trivelcane, and



1758. very few troops at St. Thomè; about ten o'clock in the morning near one thousand sepoy, with twenty Europeans, commanded by town-major Bannatyne and ensign Crawley, went along the beach to the southward, crossed the bar, and marched through the village beyond the Governor's gardens, where they surprized two or three small sepoy guards, intercepted some letters, took a trooper's horse and arms, and one soldier prisoner; but on advancing down the road towards Mr. Turing's house, they perceived a body of Europeans and blacks which they were not a match for, and therefore returned by the way they went. From the fort-house we perceived, in the mean time, two guns, perhaps eighteen or twenty-four pounders, the one drawn by bullocks, fifteen or eighteen yoke, and the other by bullocks and Cooleys, passing from Chindadree pagoda a-cross the plain towards the Potters village; but being near enough for our great guns to reach them, some shot were immediately fired from the Nabob's bastion, and Lawrence's, which soon made the Cooleys and bullocks halt, and one of the guns sinking almost to the axle-tree at the same time, it was proposed to send a party of three hundred sepoy, with a promise of a great reward, to nail up the cannon; they were accordingly sent out at the western gate, on the sight of which, and our firing, the bullock were cast off from the guns, and the Cooleys ran away, leaving the guns alone. Our firing, and the motions of the sepoy, alarmed the enemy in the Black-town, so that about two hundred European horse were sent in all haste towards the guns, and their foot marched to the west side of the Black-town to support them; this we perceived, and fearing the sepoy might be cut to pieces, sent orders for them not to advance beyond the little bridge leading from the island to Egmore. The enemy, by these motions, were entirely alarmed, and we had an opportunity

tunity of firing many shot at their horse and foot, 1758. but the execution was uncertain. About four or five in the evening more Cooleys and bullocks were sent to fetch their guns, and, in spite of our fire carried them off towards Mr. Turner's garden-house; where, I believe, they were left for that night. The working party the same number, and employ, as yesterday. M. Lally, by a letter to count D'Estaing yesterday, complained that Isouf Cawn was committing great devastations to the southward, near Pondicherry; and that he should, in consequence, be obliged to make reprisals round Madrafs. As to that, he cannot well depopulate the country more than he has; for, though he may be obliged to retreat, it will be long e'er Madrafs recovers its inhabitants, and become a places of trade.

THE Nabob and his family were last night sent on board the snow in the road, with Mr. Norris, a counsellor, and sailed this morning for Negapatam, where it is proposed the Nabob shall land, and proceed to Trichinopoly, from whence he may have an opportunity of disturbing the enemy.

LAST night the fire of shot and shells on the enemy was as the preceding nights; the working party was one hundred men, and employed, in general, as before, except those on the demi-bastion, where the traverse being finished, they were set to repair some part of the face and front of two merlons, which had fallen down in the late rains. Dec. 22.

THE cannon or mortars fired last night every ten minutes on the enemy, in order to disturb their workmen, who by morning had deepened and lengthened their parallel a few feet; they had also been at work on their line of communication between Mutall Pettah and Peda Naigues; but had not 23.

1758. finished either that, or the work they had been on elsewhere. About eight or nine in the morning a sail appeared to the northward, and anchored about eleven o'clock; she saluted with nine guns, which we answered with nine shot into the Black-town. This ship was the Thames, from Vizagapatam in four days; and brings us advice of colonel Forde having given the Marquis de Conflans, and the French forces under him, an entire defeat; the further particulars of which must be deferred till the letters are landed, the wind blew so fresh, and the surf ran so high, that no boat could get off. However, that the enemy might not wait so long, we had all the troops in the covered way, and gave them a Feu de Joye from our musketry, and three times seven twenty-four pounders with shot into the Black-town. The working party consisted of one hundred men, and were employed on the blind before the old north-east bastion, and on raising the faces of the royal to the distance of forty feet on each side the salient angle, to prevent the effect of shot en ricochet; for which purpose the first embrasures on each side were closed. The black artificers and Cooleys were employed on the north lunette, raising the parapets, lining the embrasures with Palmeira trees, and closing the communication with the covered way by a traverse on each side.

Dec. 24. The wind blowing very hard last night, it was apprehended the Thames, which had only one anchor and cable, and drove, would have been obliged to quit the road, however, she rode it out; but on seeing the vessel to the northward weigh, and stand towards the road, she weighed also, and stretched off to sea; in the afternoon she attempted to fetch in again, but by the evening was out of sight to the southward. The French vessel came opposite the north end of the Black town and anchored.

chored. The fire of shot and shells last night, on such places as the enemy was suspected to be working at, was somewhat more frequent than the preceding evening; and, by what we could discover, they had only enlarged their parallel a little, and placed a few timbers within to keep up the earth. The working party was about one hundred men, and was employed on the blind before the old north east bastion, and in raising the parapets of the royal bastion. The blacks, in facing the embrasures of the northern works, and finishing the traverses of the north ravelin. This evening a soldier was executed for attempting or threatening to shoot his serjeant. Finding that the soldiers on the working parties were somewhat unruly, the Governor gave out immediate orders, that all people so employed should directly obey my own, or assistant's orders, and, in case of neglect, be severely punished. Mr. Catford, a company's servant, was appointed a practitioner, and to rank as ensign.

THE fire from our cannon and mortars was kept up last night as in the preceding. The enemy, as far as we could perceive, had done very little work, and that only in deepening and thickening their parallel. Our working party was one hundred men, besides some few Lascars, about thirty Cooleys, and fifty or sixty sepoy: they were in general employed as yesterday, except in removing the fascine parapet on the the sea gate redoubt, and making another of gabions. The traverses of the north lunette were this day finished, and the platforms of the demi-bastion were lengthened eight feet with sleepers and plank. The Governor, colonel Lawrence, and the principal officers having assembled this evening, and considered some intelligence they had received of the enemy's erecting batteries, agreed that the most necessary work at present was finishing the traverses on

1758, the royal bastion, and then closing the opening between the north-west curtain and the blind before the Mint sally-port; also erecting a traverse in the covered way, before the north face of the royal bastion. Last night, as a corporal was patrolling on the glacis to the northward, a sepoy fired at him, and shot him dead. In the forenoon a sloop appeared to the northward, standing this way; but the French ship hoisting her colours when the sloop came a-breast, and firing two guns, the sloop anchored, and soon after stood in under the ship's stern; she had white colours, but appeared to be a Moors sloop.

Dec. 26. THE fire of our artillery and mortars was last night pretty smart, and we could not perceive that the enemy had done any thing on the north-east; on the west, in the street near the old hospital, we perceived they had placed some green gabions, and made a work; but it appeared to be rather a retrenchment across the street than a battery. The working party was one hundred soldiers and about three hundred sepoys, who, with the Mascars and Cooleys, were employed on the works determined on yesterday, and on those in hand before.

27. LAST night a pretty brisk fire was made from the cannon and mortars on the north front, on such places as it was imagined the enemy were at work in. The working party was one hundred Europeans and two hundred and fifty sepoys, employed as yesterday.

28. In the morning we discovered that they had thrown up some earth among the ruins of the houses a little to the north of the old hospital, and that they had thickened and heightened their work to the north so much, that it had more the appearance of a battery

battery than a parallel. The working party, of one hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoy, was employed on the works already mentioned. 1758.

THE fire of shot and shells, to the north and west, Dec. 29. was pretty brisk in the night; however, the enemy had been hard at work, for in the morning we perceived they had formed a stout parapet to the westward, and, to appearance, had three embrasures in it, though they were not opened; the intent seems to be to fire on St. George's lunette, the bridge of communication to it, and on the bridge leading to the island. Their work to the northward appeared now very plainly to be intended for a battery, in which I observed five rows of pickets, placed at equal distances as centers of embrasures, and by the length of the work there might be room for four more; the direction seems to be against the north face of the old north-east bastion, and the north face of the demi-bastion. About ten in the morning we perceived a red flag on the Mount, instead of the white there before; so that we concluded captain Preston had possession of that post. The enemy this afternoon appeared to be working on their battery to the northward, and several pieces of timber and plank were seen carrying thither for platforms towards the evening; I also discovered a large mortar placed in the communication between the two breast-works first begun by the enemy near the sea side, from which it is to be supposed they will soon salute us. About sun-set a deserter came in from the enemy's works to the northward. The working party of Europeans was one hundred men, and about three hundred sepoy, employed as yesterday.

THE fire of our artillery and mortars was last night pretty brisk, and, I believe, prevented the enemy from working much; for I could not perceive

1758. ceive any great addition to the northern battery. To the westward I observed they had thrown up a good deal of earth behind some old walls, which seems to be intended as a battery to enfilade the north face of the royal bastion, and the covered way before it; but the form is as yet very incomplete. In the night a boat came from Sadrafs, and brought some letters of the 18th from the French army to Pondicherry, which captain Preston had intercepted. From these we learn, that the enemy lost by our sally on the 14th two hundred and twenty men and thirty officers, killed or wounded. In short, they acknowledge themselves to have been thrown into the greatest confusion, and that they must have been entirely ruined had our party advanced more regularly on them, and been supported by another body to the northward. A letter from one of M. Lally's Aid de Camps to the council of Pondicherry, complains much for want of money, and desires they would supply him with some, if it be but one hundred roupes, and that too chearfully; for their affairs were in a fair way, and the conquest of Madrafs certain. In the morning we perceived a great smoke at the Mount, from whence we concluded captain Preston and Isouf Cawn, with their whole force, were there. This was confirmed by an Hircar coming in at noon, with advice that there had been a skirmish, and some French troopers taken. A great number of black troops, horse and foot, with large herds of cattle, were observed to come from the Mount and St. Thomé to Egmore, and two guns were sent from the Black-town thither. Another deserter came in this afternoon, and in the evening a flag of truce with a letter from M. Lally, complaining of our firing at his head-quarters, and threatening to burn the Black-town in return: but of this he had no right to complain, because he is the first general, perhaps, that fixed his head-quarters within point-blank

blank shot of the fort, and lodged a regiment, and his ammunition, at the same place. The working party of one hundred men and three hundred sepoy, employed as before, except on the blind before the old north-east bastion, which was finished yesterday.

1758.

LAST night, and towards the morning particularly, the fire from the cannon and mortars was rather smarter than before. At day-break a large body of sepoy, the first company of grenadiers, and the troop of horse, went over the bar to the southward, and into Trivelcane village, where they surprized a small guard or two of sepoy, and intercepted several letters; from which we learn, that a frigate was arrived from the islands to Pondicherry, and had brought about two hundred thousand dollars; but no mention was made of any forces. The going out of our sepoy gave M. Lally the alarm, so that three or four picquets of Europeans, and some European horse, with guns, were seen marching from the Black-town to Egmore. A party of forty Europeans and as many sepoy, in eight boats, were sent off in the night to stretch a chain out to the eastward; left the boats to the southward, which had brought the enemy ammunition, should slip by and land it to the northward. Letters came in, about ten o'clock in the evening, from captain Preston, acquainting us, that in the morning the enemy, in number about one thousand, black and white, under colonel Kenelly, had about day-break advanced four guns near the Mount, and cannonaded him, which our people answered so briskly that the French retreated; afterwards they came on with two guns, which our people made a push at and took, killing fifteen of the French on the spot, and wounding colonel Kenelly, one captain, and twenty-five men.



1759. AN artillery man and hussar came in last night. In the afternoon a large ship appeared to the north-east, and by sun-set was near east of the fort, with her hull just appearing. The French ship hoisted first English colours, then French, and fired two guns; but the other ship stood on to the southward, and shewed some colours which had a white field, perhaps Portuguese. The enemy's works to the northward appeared to have received no addition this morning, but that to the westward plainly appeared to be designed for two batteries; one, in which three or four embrasures were formed, apparently to fire in the north west lunette, and the other, of five or six embrasures, not yet traced, to inflade the face of the royal bastion, and covered way before it. The working party consisted of one hundred Europeans, about forty Cooleys, thirty Lascars, ten Peons, the Mestry bricklayers, and about sixty sepoy; who were all employed on the several works before-mentioned.

1759. LAST night, about ten o'clock, came in two deserters, and informed us that M. ally proposed to usher in the new year by a bombardment; however, the night and morning passed without any fire but what was on our side. The enemy having made large detachments to oppose captain Preston and Isouf Cawn, was the reason, I suppose, of their working very little last night; for I could not perceive in the morning any material alteration in their works to the north or west. Letters last night from Sadras inform us, that a Moors vessel, from the Nicabars to Porto Novo, brought advice of twelve English ships being at those islands, and ready to sail for this place. The ship which appeared in the offing was from Macao, had touched at Massulipatam, where a ship of ours (the Hardwick) had prevented her from selling any thing; so that she intends to break bulk at Nagapatam,

gapatam, and come up the coast. Isouf Cawn, we hear, has left the Mount, and is gone to Trevambore, about a league south of St. Thomé; and the French, apprehensive of that post, have sent all their black troops from Egmore, and a strong body of Europeans to support them. The working party was one hundred Europeans, one hundred sepoys, and the same Cooleys and Lascars as mentioned yesterday: they were employed as before, except in making traverses before the magazine doors of the Nabob's bastion.

Our fire of artillery and mortars was last night Jan. 2. very brisk; but as soon as the light appeared, the enemy began to fire from four or five pieces of cannon on their western battery (D), and one mortar; they also threw twelve inch shells from four or five large mortars placed near the west end of their battery (C) to the northward. This early salute surprized us, but as we had ten or twelve heavy cannon which bore on the enemy's battery to the westward, two of their guns were soon knocked to pieces, and their muzzles so much damaged that they withdrew their guns before eight o'clock. From their mortars they threw shells till past seven at night, commonly four in a flight, which were in general aimed at the fort-house, and so well thrown, that two fell on the top and pierced the first and second roof; many others fell within the square, and ruined some of the rooms; other houses were also much damaged: but, what is most remarkable, not one European or sepoy was wounded by shot or shell, nor any other person hurt but a Dubash and a child or two. By letters from captain Preston, and also by five deserters which came into us in the evening, we learnt, that, early in the morning, M. Soupire, major-general, who commanded at St. Thomé, had marched a strong body and attacked him and Isouf Cawn, who lay near

1759.

near Trevambore, in three divisions; that the enemy had put our first division in some disorder, taken their two guns, and some prisoners; but that the broken troops, having joined the second division, fell on the enemy in their turn, and put them to flight, killing about fifty Europeans on the spot, with two officers; and, if we may believe the deserters, the troop of M. Aumont was very roughly handled, a troop of hussars cut to pieces, and three companies of grenadiers greatly disordered: our guns and prisoners were retaken. It was to favour this attack of M. Soupire that the enemy began their fire earlier by some days than they would otherwise have done, to withdraw our attention from what passed to the southward. We had advice to-day that M. La Tour, under pretence of a visit in marching from Pondicherry this way, had seized on \* Sadrafs, and put a garrison therein; and that M. Lally had given orders for the same finesse to be practised on \* Pouliacat. His design on these places was the reason, we suppose, that, in a passport granted some of our ladies, he excepted their going to Pouliacat or Sadrafs; however, three boats, with several ladies in them; were sent off to Sadrafs without passports before this news arrived; so that we fear they will all be seized.

Jan 3.

LAST night we threw many shells, and fired many shot at the enemy's works, but they ceased firing after eight o'clock. In the morning we observed they had closed up the embrasures of their western battery, which was much disordered by our cannon; they had also added something in height and thickness to their northern battery, but did not fire from either cannon or mortars. We observed this day about sixty or seventy European horse returning in a straggling manner from the southward towards the

\* Both belonging to the Dutch.

Black town, and among them thirty or forty led horses, which we imagined lost their riders in the action yesterday against capt. Preston and Isouf Cawn. 1759.  
 The working party was one hundred men and about two hundred sepoy, who were employed in finishing the work a cross the gut to the northward, in making traverses before the doors of the Nabob's bastion, and a cross the streets leading to the south curtain, where the guards are in future to parade.

OUR artillery and mortars made a brisk fire last night on the enemy's batteries, but neither shell nor shot was returned from them; however, in the morning I observed they had opened the epaulment of their northern battery, and let in fascines for the facing of the embrasures; they also had repaired part of the western battery, where we discovered two guns in the morning; but on our firing a few shot they were withdrawn, and the embrasures choaked with fascines. Yesterday I drew out the following instructions for my assistants, dividing them into two reliefs; and this morning Mess. Leigh and Cotsford went on duty, to be relieved by lieutenants Eiser and Stevenson to-morrow. The working party was one hundred men and two hundred and fifty sepoy, employed as yesterday.

“ THAT the business dependant on the engineers may be conducted with greater regularity and care, it is ordered,

“ THAT captain lieutenant Lee, engineer in ordinary, and ensign Cotsford, practitioner, do attend on the front attacked, together; and lieutenant Eiser, of his Majesty's sixty-fourth regiment, engineer extraordinary, and lieutenant Stevenson, sub-engineer, do also attend the front attacked, together; and that these four gentlemen do relieve each other

1759. other, two and two, every twenty-four hours, at the same time as the guard is relieved.

“THAT the senior engineer on duty, every twenty-four hours, do make a report to me if any very extraordinary occurrence happens; that he acquaint the senior engineer who relieves him, with such observations as he has made while on duty, and with the nature of the work carrying on; and also reports to me, by writing, in general terms, what has been executed during his tour of duty. \*

“THAT the senior engineer going on duty every evening or morning, do attend the parade, and receive the working party, which he is to distribute according to the orders he has received; or, if he has none in particular, in such a manner as he thinks the service may require.

“THAT the senior engineer on duty, on application being made to him by any military or artillery officer, for the repairing or security of any work, do give them all the assistance he can; and he is to take care that the parapets, embrasures, platforms, and the works in general, are kept in the best condition possible. The master bricklayer, and master carpenter, have orders to follow the directions of the engineers on duty, and give all the assistance they can in their branches.”

Jan. 5. OUR artillery and mortars fired pretty briskly last night on the enemy's batteries, but they neither fired shot nor shell, in the night or to day; they were not idle, however, having finished the facing and almost opened seven embrasures in their northern battery, where I perceived three guns in the evening, and in the morning three in the west battery, which were soon masked or removed. To-day I  
again

again proposed to the Governor and colonel Lawrence erecting a battery behind the covered way in the salient place of arms before the demi-bastion, and had permission about six in the evening, and a working party of one hundred fresh men; which I immediately set to work under lieutenants Eifer and Stevenson. This battery, of at least five guns, I thought absolutely necessary to render our fire equal to the enemy's; for their battery of seven or eight guns, fronting directly the face of the old north east bastion, will fire on the north face of the demi obliquely. To oppose this fire we have only three guns on the old north-east bastion, which bear direct; two, in the north ravelin, fire in an oblique line; and three or four from the royal bastion, which also fire obliquely, and therefore have no great chance of ruining the enemy's guns. Now the new battery I propose will be a direct grazing fire, and can neither be enfiladed nor beaten down, because the glacis is the parapet, and the embrasures will be cut through it. The working party was one hundred men, besides two hundred sepoy, employed as before.

1759.

OUR fire from the cannon and mortars were not last night very brisk. The enemy, in the morning, as soon as they could well see, threw five shells into the town, as a signal for their other batteries to begin; and about seven began to fire from six guns and as many mortars from their north battery (B), and from their west battery (D), with three guns pointed on Pigot's bastion (g); and four (E) with an howitz firing on the flank of the demi bastion, and enfilading the covered way before the north face of the royal bastion; from these batteries they continued to fire till about five in the evening, and threw near one hundred and fifty shells, besides shot, chiefly into and over the town. The damage done the works is very trifling; but the houses in the town,

Jan. 6.

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1759. town, where shells or shot fell, have suffered much. Our fire of artillery and mortars was much superior to the enemy's, and, to appearance, greatly disordered their merlons. We also learn by a deserter from the enemy's artillery, that our shells dismounted one of their mortars, and killed three men in the north battery. The working party was one hundred men, and chiefly employed in forwarding the battery in the north east angle: as to sepoy or blacks, we had little or no work from them.

Jan. 7. LAST night the enemy threw but few shells, and we only a shot or shell now and then. About four in the morning we were surprized with the arrival of three boats, with a Frenchman in each: they were the boats which had been sent the third instant with the ladies to Sadras. The French having seized that place, also seized the boats, and loading them with one hundred and fifty shot of twenty-four pounds, one thousand empty cartridges, fifty steel caps, fifty barrels of powder, and fifteen hundred sand-bags, sent them back, with a soldier in each, to the Blacktown. The boat-fellows, towards the morning, being opposite Madras, seized the arms of the sleeping soldiers, poured water on the locks, then tied the men, and landed the boats at our sea gate.

THE enemy's fire was very brisk, till five in the evening, from their cannon and mortars, and then they were silent; in order, I suppose, to repair their works. Our works, though not much damaged, bear, however, a rough aspect, and the demi-bastion, as well as Pigot's, is stuck pretty full of shot. The shells the enemy threw have greatly damaged the houses in the town, but have not hurt many people; three Europeans only being killed this day. Our working party could do nothing in the day; a few indeed attempted to work in the

north-east salient angle of the covered way; but the enemy having discovered them, fired so briskly, that lieutenant Stevenson, who directed them, was knocked down by the wind of a shot, but only slightly hurt on the cheek; so the party returned. The enemy opened a new battery near the burying-ground (F). 1759.

As I found the soldiers, unused to such duty, were in general extremely awkward in repairing the damaged works, I conceived that the service would be much better carried on by appointing a pioneer company, composed of volunteers drawn from the several corps, and to do no other duty but repair the works; so that by constantly employing the same people, they might more readily execute the service they were set about. I accordingly made application, and succeeded. The company to consist of two officers, lieutenant Meyers, and ensign West, six sergeants, six corporals, and eighty-eight privates. Two companies of sepoys were also formed, with proper officers, on the same plan. The working party was this evening one hundred soldiers and as many sepoys; employed in repairing the embrasures, platforms, and forwarding the battery in the covered way before the demi-bastion. Jan. 8.

THIS morning the enemy opened two embrasures more from their battery near the burying-ground, and some earth appeared to be cast up near a little upper room house beyond the Pettah bridge (h). In the night they threw a great many shot and shells after eleven o'clock. During the day their fire was very brisk from their cannon, though but few shells were thrown by them. Ten grenadiers were posted in the north-east angle of the covered way, to fire into the enemy's embrasures; and two twelve-pounders were fired from the new battery. 9.



1759. ty, of one hundred men and one hundred sepoys, with six artificers, were employed in repairing embrasures, platforms, and other damages done the several works; also in cutting up a damaged stone platform on the old north east bastion, and laying one of wood: a blind of twelve feet thick and seven feet and an half high, was begun thirty five feet behind the flank of the demi-bastion, to cover the people on that work from the enemy's shot which might come in at the embrasures of the flank, or en ricochet over it; the merlon next the shoulder was rose for the same purpose. In the evening two sail appeared to the southward, and anchored near St. Thomé, with white colours, being both of them ships.

Jan 10. LAST night the enemy threw very few shells, and fired not many shot: on our side we were almost as silent. The two ships which appeared to the southward still remain at an anchor near St. Thomé, and as far as we can discover, are French ships from Pondicherry. Our working party was last night one hundred pioneers, and sixty grenadiers, besides one hundred and sixty sepoys. They were employed in compleating the covered way battery to four pieces of cannon, which were mounted before morning; in filling bags of earth at the foot of the demi bastion, and clearing what the enemy had beat down; in repairing the parapets of the demi, north-east, royal, and Pigot's bastions, and laying two wooden platforms on the first bastion, in the room of two stone ones, damaged. In the night the enemy carried on part of a zig-zag about one hundred feet long, nearly westward from their northern battery (k l), and taking a turn, carried another two hundred feet long, back towards the sea side, as marked in the plan (m n). They also drew part of a trench (L) from the lute house in the Pettrah towards the bridge; and repaired their shattered merlons with sand bags.

LAST

LAST night the enemy were almost wholly silent with their artillery and mortars, but were not idle with their shovels; for in the morning we discovered that they had deepened their zig zags, begun the preceding night to the northward, and lengthened that which stretched towards the sea almost to the beach (O): they had also drawn their trench from the house (h), quite to the Pettah bridge, and opened a battery of two guns from the kitchen of the new hospital (G), which fired on the north-west curtain and the blind before the mint sally port; but I suppose were intended to plunge into the royal bastion, and batter the east flank in reverse. Our working party was ninety men of the pioneer company, and sixty volunteers, grenadiers, besides one hundred and sixty sepoy employed in repairing the damaged merlons, and platforms of the north front; dismounting some disabled guns, and making blinds before the doors and windows of the arched hospital under the old west curtain: also in filling sand bags at the foot of the demi bastion, and clearing the earth beat down. This afternoon I examined the works, as to their state, and observed that the parapets of the north face of the demi bastion are a good deal shattered; that the brick parapet of the north face of the old north-east bastion is wholly ruined; but the wall being well covered by the blind of gabions made before it, is not much hurt. The west face of the royal bastion is but little hurt below the cordon, and the right hand face of Pigot's bastion being built to a great slope, the enemy's fire has had no other effect than beating the earth to its natural slope, which is from the extremity of the berm to the top of the parapet. The old curtain wall to the northward is a good deal shattered about the parapets, and most of the pallisadoes of the caponniere broke, by the plunging shot from the enemy's west battery.

1759. The enemy having yesterday brought a field-piece  
 Jan. 12. or two near the bar (12), and fired a few shot on the  
 people and bullocks which had taken shelter to the  
 southward of the fort; and there appearing to be a  
 breast-work and guard of the enemy near the sea  
 side, it was determined to attack that post early this  
 morning; accordingly, as soon as the moon was  
 gone down, the grenadiers of the third battalion un-  
 der captain Campbell, and near one hundred men  
 more, with three hundred sepoys, all under major  
 Briereton, marched by the sea side to the bar, and  
 there received the fire of the enemy's advanced post;  
 by which we had one of the grenadiers killed and  
 two wounded. Our people, without firing, march-  
 ed on to the Governor's garden house (13), and in a  
 small lane or street on the south side of it found  
 the enemy drawn up with two small field-pieces,  
 and about fifty men. The enemy fired two dis-  
 charges of grape on our party within fifty paces;  
 but the gunners being killed they made no other use  
 of their guns: on the contrary, the picquet broke,  
 and ran each his own way. The guns were taken  
 and brought in, one officer and six men were also  
 taken prisoners, and about ten or fifteen killed or  
 left wounded on the spot. On our side we had one  
 killed, one officer (lieutenant Robson), of the grena-  
 diers mortally wounded, and nine men. This little  
 affair has doubtless given our people great spirits,  
 and damped those of the enemy. A party, with  
 an officer, was also sent out in the night at St.  
 George's gate, which advanced on the bridge lead-  
 ing to the Pettah, and fired into the enemy's trench,  
 but could not perceive any people at work. About  
 seven in the evening a party of the enemy advanced  
 towards our north-east salient angle of the covered  
 way, and gave a fire thereon. In the night also a  
 party of our men, with an officer, was sent out to  
 disturb the workmen of the enemy's zig-zags to the  
 north-

northward, who advanced to their work, fired on and killed their centinel, and took a stand or two of arms, without any loss. The fire of the enemy's cannon was pretty brisk yesterday, but they threw very few shells, and those not large. I could not perceive that they had done much to their approaches last night; but the merlons of their batteries seemed to be tolerably well repaired with sand bags. The working party was the pioneer company, and about one hundred and seventy sepoy, who were employed in making a traverse on the north face of the demi-bastion; carrying off the earth at the foot of it; fetching pallisadoes to set up in the dry ditch before the north face, and repairing the damaged platforms and parapets. On the royal bastion, old north-east, and covered way battery, the parapet, the platforms and embrasures were repaired.

LAST night about seven o'clock, the enemy advanced pretty near the covered way on the north-east, and gave a fire of musquetry on our people there at work. They also fired in the night, from their approaches, on a small party of ours, posted on the saliant angle under cover of a boat, and wounded three men. From the covered way and north lunette, we could plainly perceive the enemy at work near the sea-side, which we endeavoured to prevent by frequent discharges of grape, musquetry and shells. Our working party was seventy-eight men of the pioneer company, and one hundred and eighty sepoy, who were chiefly employed in removing the earth at the foot of the demi-bastion, and the rubbish before the old north-east bastion, which works I was determined to repair, and secure as much as possible, since the enemy seemed to bend most of their fire against them, and direct their attack that way. I therefore raised, and thickened the blind before the north-east bastion, whose parapet

1759. was much shattered, and begun a pallisadoe at the foot of the demi-bastion six feet within the cuvette, which I propose to carry quite round the flank and north face. I also proposed another, between the blind and north face of the old north-east bastion. The enemy, in the night, had covered the head of their zig-zag near the sea, by a small return or crotchet (op) beginning near the beach, and stretching westward parallel to the north front. To the westward, the enemy fired with four guns from the new hospital, but did nothing to their trench near the Pettah bridge. Their sepoys, to the southward of the bar, were at work all day in raising a breast-work for their defence, in case we should make another attempt on that side.

Jan 14. LAST night, as we imagined the enemy would be at work again at the crotchet before their zig-zag, we began a pretty smart fire of musquetry from our covered way, and frequently gave them discharges of grape from the north lunette and covered way battery. From the royal and demi-bastions we threw small and large shells into their approaches and batteries, so that they were prevented from doing much work. By the morning, however, they had run on their return about twenty yards, and completed what they had roughly traced the night before. Our working party, besides seventy-five men of the pioneer company, was assisted by one hundred twenty men out of the two battalions, and one hundred seventy sepoys. The earth, near the shoulder of the demi-bastion, having formed an ascent almost practicable, about an hundred Europeans, and as many sepoys, were set to carry it off in baskets or sand bags, to repair the parapet of the bastion above. The pallisadoe, begun at the foot of the bastion, was continued near an hundred feet more. The parapet of the north-east bastion being quite destroyed, and

and that work being of the greatest consequence to be kept in good repair, about one hundred-sixty Europeans, and the rest of the sepoys under lieutenant .Stevenson, were set to clear away the ruined parapets, and erect others with sand bags, gabions, and fascines, two merlons of which were finished before the morning. An old sally port in the east curtain, near the south flank of the old north-east bastion, was opened for the more ready communication with the north-east part of the covered way, and a door place in it.

1759.

LAST night a brisk fire of musquetry, cannon and Jan. 15. mortars was kept up from our covered way and the works of the north front, on the enemy's approaches, and prevented them from doing more than lengthening their crochet a little, and opening it in the middle (q), from whence they placed fifteen or twenty gabions in an oblique direction towards the sea side. Our working party consisted of the pioneer company, the first company of grenadiers, and ninety men of the two battalions, besides two companies of sepoys. They were employed in finishing the parapet of the old north-east bastion, which was put in very good condition, and three guns mounted thereon; in clearing the earth from the face of the demi-bastion, repairing the parapet, and fixing palisadoes at the foot of it. On the royal bastion a blind was begun to cover the three guns in the east flank next the curtain from the fire of the enemy's battery near the new hospital, which takes it in reverse. The embrasures of St. George's, and the north-west lunette, being much out of repair, a party of twenty men, and a serjeant, was set to repair them. The fire of the enemy's cannon was this day very brisk, and their north battery was augmented to ten pieces of cannon, with which they fired in salvos on the old north-east bastion, and soon dismounted two of the three guns

1759. **LAST** night a picquet of the enemy's advanced to the boats, and drove an advanced party of ours from thence. The fire of the musquetry from the covert way, and the cannon and mortars from the bastions and north lunette, was well kept up on the enemy's approaches. They, in return, threw a few shells, and fired a few shot into the town and works, by which one of the working party was wounded. Our working party, of sixty-four pioneers, sixty grenadiers of the second battalion, and one hundred and thirty sepoy, were employed in repairing the parapet of the old north-east bastion, which was again compleated for three guns. In repairing, and covering by some gabions, the pallisadoe before the fascine battery near the sea; in clearing the earth from the foot of the demi-bastion, and therewith thickening the blind before the old north-east bastion; repairing the parapets and embrasures above, and carrying on the pallisadoe below. This day the enemy threw a great many shells into the town, particularly the north end, and killed or wounded us more men than in any preceding day; among the rest, two of the pioneer company were killed at their barrack door. The enemy last night had augmented their north battery to twelve embrasures, and fired from thence very briskly on the old north-east and demi-bastion. They also filled the gabions they had left empty the night before, and advanced their work in the same direction about twenty yards (r). About ten in the morning a snow appeared to the north-east, and anchored, on which the French frigate chased, and all their ships threw out English colours.

Jan. 17. **LAST** night an incessant fire was kept up with musquetry from the covered way, and about twelve o'clock, an officer with twelve men were sent out to fall on the enemy's workmen, which he fired on several

veral times, but a large body advancing, he was killed himself, and three of his men wounded. Notwithstanding the interruption we gave them, the enemy carried on the remaining part of their zig-zag to (s), and covered it by a crotchet or boyau (t). Our working party was seventy-six of the pioneer company, the first company of grenadiers, and twenty-four serjeants and corporals off duty, besides one hundred thirty sepoy. They were employed in repairing the parapet of the old north east bastion, which was put in order, and a platform lengthened for three guns, the same number as at first. The blind below was thickened, and the rampart of it enlarged. The covered way battery being deemed no longer useful, the guns were drawn off in the afternoon, and the platforms taken up. In the night we closed the embrasures, and lowered the merlons into a regular slope. Many of the pallisadoes which were fixed in the dry ditch, having been destroyed by the enemy's shot and shells, were replaced, and others fixed round the flank of the demi-bastion; the embrasures of the demi-bastion next the salient angle were filled up, the merlons of the three embrasures next the shoulder were repaired, and the parapet strengthened. The earth at the foot of the face was entirely carried away.

LAST night, the enemy brought two guns down to the Bar, and fired a few shot at some sepoy of ours posted on the opposite side. Yesterday and this night the enemy threw a great many shells into the town, and some into the works, which did us more damage than any they threw before. The enemy, yesterday in the afternoon, worked at thickening the sand-bank to the right of their battery close to the sea, and this morning they opened three embrasures through it, which in the afternoon fired on the north-east face of the north lunette; so that their north battery

1759.

Jan. 18,



1759. battery now consists of fifteen embrasures. The enemy extended their parallel or crochet (t) at the foot of the glacis westward about fifteen yards, but in a rough unfinished manner, as indeed their whole work appears to be. Our working party last night consisted of seventy-six pioneers, the second company of grenadiers, and one hundred and thirty sepoy, who were employed in clearing the earth at the foot of the demi-bastion, finishing the pallisades in the dry ditch, levelling the earth in the north-east angle of the covered way, raising and thickening the blind before the old north-east bastion, and giving the parapets of that bastion an entire repair. To day the enemy did not fire from their battery near the old hospital, and the embrasures appeared closed up.

Jan. 19. NOTWITHSTANDING the fire which we kept up last night from our musquetry, cannon and mortars, the enemy advanced by a third zig-zag (v) across the salient angle of the glacis. In the forenoon, the enemy fired pretty smartly from their musquetry behind their first crochet. They also brought two heavy guns (o) to the south of the Bar, and threw some shot into the town. Our working party last night was one officer, three serjeants, and fifty-six pioneers, the first company of grenadiers, and thirty-two serjeants and corporals, who were employed in levelling the earth raised for the guns in the north-east angle of the covered way, clearing the earth from the foot of the demi-bastion, carrying a pallisade across the dry ditch before the east wing, thickening and raising the blind, and repairing the embrasures of the north-east bastion. The enemy's shells this day set fire to the sorting warehouse, to a warehouse in Gloucester lane, and to some salt petre in Middlegate street, so that the town was on fire in three places at once.

LAST night the enemy threw very few shells or shot into the works or town; nor did they advance their works more than by producing the third zig-zag from the ridge of the glacis obliquely to the sea-side, where they crowned it by a small return of four or five gabions. In the afternoon, I observed a few Europeans working at a barbet parapet (o) near the fishers huts to the southward of the bar, where the enemy had brought two large cannon, or one cannon and one mortar; for such they appeared to me. Our working party was the pioneer company and one hundred and twenty sepoy, employed in the same manner as yesterday, except driving rows of piquets in the front of the fascine battery, and making a breast-work before the pallisadoe which separates the demi-bastion from the second curtain.

LAST night the enemy threw few or no shells, and fired less than in any night of the siege; nor did they make any apparent approach in their works. They thickened their second zig-zag and crotchet, and laid some sand-bags for their musquetry. Our working party consisted of the pioneer company, and one hundred and twenty sepoy, who were employed in repairing the parapets and embrasures of the old north-east bastion; in finishing the blind for musquetry; in clearing the face of the demi-bastions, and driving pickets in the front of, and laying fascines on the fascine battery; repairing the parapet and embrasures on the left face of the north bastion, and in clearing the sea-gate of rubbish, and making a traverse before the gate of the redoubt. The enemy's batteries were this day very silent; but they fired pretty briskly from their trenches on such of our people as appeared at the embrasures or over the parapets. The enemy's method of proceeding, by simple sap, in so confined and unsupported a manner as their approaches are formed, giving great room to believe a

tally

1759. sally might easily drive them from their work, and  
 overfet some of the gabions, it was determined to  
 fend out thirty foldiers and forty pioneers, to try  
 what could be done. A little past five in the even-  
 ing ten men and a serjeant went out by the sea-side,  
 and an officer and twenty men went out by the bar-  
 rier in the north east angle of the covered way; an  
 engineer, with the captain of pioneers and forty men,  
 followed. The foldiers were to possess the enemy's  
 second crotchet, and cover the pioneers, while they  
 destroyed the lodgment forming on the ridge of the  
 glacis. Every thing succeeded as we could wish; the  
 enemy ran out of their sap in an instant, and our pio-  
 neers, for about eight minutes, worked hard at de-  
 stroying gabions, and such things as they found.  
 The enemy then began to collect in their first  
 crotchet, and a signal was made for the return of  
 our party. We lost two serjeants killed, and three  
 or four pioneers wounded: what the enemy (who had  
 mostly sepoys in their works) lost, we cannot guess;  
 but as our cannon, mortars, and small arms played  
 briskly upon them, before and after the sally, they no  
 doubt suffered. It was apprehended they were car-  
 rying a gallery under the glacis, in order to open the  
 covered way by a mine; but nothing of that kind  
 was discovered.

Jan. 22. LAST night the enemy did not advance their ap-  
 proaches, but worked at thickening their second  
 crotchet, third zig-zag, and raising the head of their  
 sap (w) on the ridge of the glacis. They fired few  
 shells, and those chiefly into the works. During the  
 day the enemy fired very few cannon, particularly  
 from their northern battery, where most of the em-  
 brasures seem to be blinded. Our pioneer company  
 having been out on the sally, we could only get a ser-  
 jeant and twelve men to work in the night, who were  
 employed in repairing the parapets of the old north-  
 east

east bastion, and one hundred sepoy, who worked at a traverse before the pallisadoe which serves as a barrier between the royal bastion and low curtain; they also carried pallisadoes down to the fascine battery. 1759.

LAST night a brisk fire of musquetry was kept up on the enemy's approaches; however, they advanced a few gabions on the glacis (x), almost parallel to the east face of the covered way; and they opened a battery (H) of four embrasures in their third zig-zag, with an intent to fire on the right face of the north ravelin; but it did not answer their expectations in bearing well on that work. Our working party, of sixty three pioneers and one hundred sepoy, were employed in repairing the north east bastion, in making a traverse before the gate leading into the caponniere from the low curtain; another before each of the gates which close the communication to the royal and demi-bastions; also in filling sand-bags in the north-east angle of the covered way, and carrying them to the several works. Two embrasures were repaired, and one platform on the demi-bastion; and one platform on the north ravelin. Jan. 23.

LAST night the enemy attempted to push their gabions close to our covered way, but some of our men posted there overset many, which rolled into the sea, and pulled others in between the pallisadoe. A smart fire of musquetry commenced on this occasion, and continued two or three hours, in which we lost ten or twelve men, killed or wounded. From the north-east bastion and fascine battery the field-pieces fired grape in such plenty, that seventy discharges were made out of one gun; the enemy's loss, from such a fire, must doubtless have been great, and their work appeared this morning rough and incomplete. Our working party was sixty pioneers and one hundred sepoy, 24.

1759. poys, who were employed in repairing the old north-east bastion; the embrasures of the north ravelin, and making a blind behind the flank of the royal bastion; but the pioneers being sent for to go and overthrow the enemy's gabions, little work was done. We lost of that party one killed and two wounded.

Jan. 25. LAST night the enemy pushed on their approaches in a line parallel to the east face of the covered way, as far as the Palmeira pallisadoe (y), which runs quite into the sea; parallel to which they made a return. In the night a small party of our pioneers went and pulled several of the enemy's gabions into the covered way, and a small party of grenadiers alarmed them in their trenches. Our working party consisted of fifty-three pioneers and one hundred sepoys, who were employed in repairing the embrasures of the old north-east bastion, in repairing the parapets and embrasures of the north ravelin; filling in the shell holes in the caponniere, and making a banquet behind the traverse leading to it. About two o'clock in the afternoon it was determined to make a sally, with twenty men of the guard behind the blind, and twenty of the pioneer company, with an intent to destroy the work the enemy had done the preceding night: they accordingly went out and drove the enemy from their approach behind the stockadoe, and our pioneers endeavoured to demolish their work by overthrowing the gabions, and throwing the tools they found into the sea, or our covered way. After maintaining their ground near fifteen minutes, the enemy began to grow very numerous in their crotchet on the ridge of the glacis; on which our people were ordered to retire. We had captain Black, who commanded the twenty men, wounded through the leg, and lieutenant Fitzpatrick of the grenadiers (of whom twenty went out) through both  
his

his arms, two or three men and one serjeant killed. 1759.  
 The enemy mult have suffered considerable from our fire, which was kept up very briskly from the works above an hour.

LAST night the enemy pushed on their approaches Jan. 26. in a line almost parallel to the north face of the covered way before the demi bastion, and made a return (2.) at the end of it, to cover their flank; so that by the work of this and the preceding night they wholly embraced the saliant angle of our covered way, and consequently made it too hazardous for us to keep troops therein. Our working party last night consisted of fifty-three pioneers and eighty-eight sepoy, who were employed in repairing the north-east bastion, the parapet and embrasures; in repairing the embrasures and parapets of the fascine battery, and lengthening it towards the sea; and at the sea gate redoubt, in shutting up the great gate which was damaged and very difficult to pass, by the falling of the viranda; and opening the small gate on the south side; also in clearing the rubbish from the north flank of the battery, and filling the gabions placed on the face. To-day the enemy fired most of their shot from their several batteries into the town; but threw their shells chiefly towards the works on the north front.

THE enemy, last night, did nothing but widen and raise the work of the preceding night; which we in some degree impute to the detachments they made to oppose captain Preston and Isouf Cawn, who we heard were at Ponamallé. Our working party consisted of forty-seven pioneers and ninety sepoy, who were employed in repairing the north-east bastion; in repairing the embrasures of the flank of the royal bastion; and in repairing the parapets and embrasures of the north lunette; they also worked, during

1759. the day, at the sea gate redoubt, when the north flank was entirely repaired, and embrasures formed for four guns. In the afternoon captain Preston's signal, of a great smoke, was seen west of Egmore, and an Hircar came in, with a report that the French had been entirely routed by our troops.

Jan. 28. THE enemy did not last night, to appearance, work much at their approaches, owing, I suppose, to the extraordinary guards they were obliged to keep, on account of Isouf Cawn, whose horse were yesterday very near Egmore. This morning, the French black horse, foot, and their European cavalry, were drawn up in a line, between Egmore and captain Maskelyne's gardens, and by their motions to the right and left, we expected that Isouf Cawn was near them, especially as several smokes were seen that way; however, nothing appeared. In the forenoon, we observed that the enemy, with several yoke of oxen, intended to draw off the guns they had to the southward of the bar; but on our firing a few shot, the bullock drivers and bullocks disappeared. The enemy having now surrounded our north-east salient angle, and probably intending to make a battery on the glacis, it was determined to try last night if we could push a mine from the counterscarp that way. An engineer and eight men were accordingly set to open an arch, which had been turned in the counterscarp for that purpose. The rest of the working party, being thirty two pioneers and eighty sepoy, were employed in repairing the parapet, and embrasures of the right face of the north lunette, and making a ditch before the south flank of the sea gate battery, in which a pallisadoc was fixed.

29. LAST night the enemy drew off one of their guns to the southward, but we could not perceive that they

they had worked any thing at their approaches 'till two o'clock in the afternoon, when they were discovered throwing up earth through a small hole just within the banquet in the covered way opposite the stockadoe (y), which was placed on the eastern glacis; which makes me imagine they were working by covered sap, with an intent to open the counter-scarp under cover of the salient angle of the demi-bastion, where they could not be seen from the flank of the royal, but having come too near the surface, the earth fell in, and they were discovered. Some grenadiers were immediately sent out to fire into the hole, and throw grenades, which they did, and thereby stoped the enemy's working. Our working party was last night thirty seven pioneers and sixty sepoy, who were employed in carrying on the gallery, and in raising the right side of the caponniere, to cover our people passing and re-passing to the north ravelin. Twelve men and a serjeant, with some boatmen, worked in the day at the sea gate, in raising the south flank of the battery, and filling up the useless embrasures.

THE enemy were last night quite silent in their Jan. 30. trenches, but threw plenty of shells into the town, and at the north ravelin. By their silence, and other appearances, we concluded they were making a battery some where on the face of the covered way, or carrying on a gallery towards the blind. Our working party consisted of forty five pioneers, and about seventy five sepoy, who were employed in pushing on the mine, compleating the right side of the caponniere, and in repairing the parapet and embrasures of the right face of the north ravelin. A sail, which had been in sight to the southward all day, came into the road towards the evening, under English colours, and proved to be the Shaftsbury, from Bombay, having been left by the other four India-men, and two



1759. twenty-gun ships, which came as a convoy, the seventh instant off Ceilon, and expected to have found them here. This ship, being the worst sailer, had been an hospital ship, and therefore brought us only the sick, and thereby added to our distress for room.

Jan. 31. THE French frigate, last night, came near and received a broad side from the Shaftsbury, and then sailed to the southward, and to-day in the afternoon returned into the road again. A little before her return, several boats were seen going with men to the Haarlem, a Dutch Indiaman seized by the French, which ship immediately weighed and stood towards the Shaftsbury, who slipped her cable and stood quite under our guns. The Haarlem fired several shot at our ship, and followed her so close, that we tried to reach her with the guns from the sea line, but she was at too great a range to fire with any certainty. The enemy, from their battery of two guns to the southward (O), and one from the northward (H), struck the Shaftsbury several times, but night coming on, saved her from the damage she must otherwise have received. Early in the morning, the enemy opened four embrasures on the north face of the covered way before the demi-bastion, and began to fire with three guns, but the earth in the shells of their embrasures was so high, and the battery so ill constructed, that, after firing twenty or thirty shot, none of which came within several feet of the top of our parapets, the battery was silent, not only from its inutility, but, I imagine, some of the guns were dismounted by the fire from our north-east bastion. The working party last night was forty-eight pioneers, twelve of which were employed in pushing on the mine, the rest in clearing the earth from the demi-bastion, and repairing the fascine battery. It being also imagined that the enemy were pushing on  
a gal-

a gallery behind the counterscarp under the narrow covered way to the eastward, with an intent to destroy our blind, or blow up the covered way, it was determined to open another gallery from the covered passage under the blind, and carry it on to meet the enemy, in case they should advance that way. 1759.

THE enemy last night repaired the damaged merlons of their battery, and endeavoured to lower the cells of their embrasures, from whence in the morning they fired three guns, but with little effect, and were soon obliged to close their embrasures, as in the preceding day. The Haarlem, the enemy's battery to the southward, and one gun to the northward, fired on the Shaftsbury, at intervals, all day, and have sent several shot through her; we, in return, fired at the ship, and the enemy's southern guns; in the evening, a twenty-four pounder burst on St. Thomé bastion, and wounded six men, of which four were mortally hurt. The Governor being there, very narrowly escaped with a slight scratch. The Cuddalore schooner came near the road in the evening, and then stood away to the northward again. Our working party last night was fifty-four pioneers and thirty-five sepoy, who were employed as follows: twenty-four pioneers, pushing on our gallery, relieved each other every six hours, the rest, with the sepoy, were repairing the pallisadoe in the gorge of the north lunette, repairing the embrasures in the east flank of the royal bastion, and levelling the earth beat down on the banquets of the lower curtain. The enemy threw but few shells last night or in this day. Feb. 1.

LAST night the enemy worked at repairing the parapet, and lowered the embrasures of their battery on the crest of the glacis, in which they opened again this morning five embrasures, and fired with

1759. two guns on the angle of the demi-bastion, which rarely struck the top of the parapet. Our working party was fifty-one pioneers, and a hundred sepoy, who were employed in repairing the fascine battery, in setting up pallisades in the gorge of the north ravelin, and in repairing the parapets of the north-east bastion; twenty seven men were employed in pushing the gallery under the north covered way, and under the covered way near the blind. The enemy's battery, which fired a shot now and then from one gun, was silent before noon. About three in the afternoon, captain Preston, Hous Cawn, and the enemy, seemed to be engaged in some topos four or five miles north west, and continued firing till five o'clock. The *Haarlem* and the French frigate drew off last night, and anchored to the northward, so that the *Shaftsbury* had only two guns from the southward, and one from the northward to fire on her.

Feb 3. This morning, about day-break, the enemy sprung a mine behind the counterscarp of the ditch, opposite the east-end of the cuvette, and opened the wall about twenty or twenty-five feet, but did no other damage than wounding three or four men and an officer in the demi-bastion with bricks. The intent of this opening is not very clear, because if it was designed as a descent into the ditch, it is so injudiciously made, that four guns from the flank of the royal bastion fire directly into it; but colonel Lawrence is rather of opinion, it was intended to destroy the entrance to our mine, which was but twenty feet from theirs, or that they sprung it, thinking we were at work on the outside; for the engineer and people at work on our mine heard the enemy very distinctly at work within the counterscarp about two o'clock in the morning, and alarmed them by knocking, and calling out to bring the match that we might spring our mine. Our working party, of fifty-four pioneers

neers and forty or fifty sepoys was employed on the mine and countermine, and thickening the parapet of the demi-bastion near the salient angle, which part the enemy's battery seems to be intended against. 1759.

LAST night, the enemy endeavoured to make Feb. 4. their guns on the glacis bear on the demi and north-east bastions, by lowering the embrasures; but after firing a few shot in the morning, they closed them as before. In short, the fire from the flank of the royal bastion oblique, and three guns in the north-east direct, is so superior to the enemy's, that they cannot possibly stand that and our shells above an hour or two every morning. Our working party consisted last night of fifty-three pioneers and fifty or sixty sepoys, who were employed in thickening the parapet of the demi-bastion, and carrying on the two galleries. The enemy's huge shells being all expended, is the reason, we imagine, that they only throw from time to time those of eight or ten inch from two mortars in the crotchet at the foot of the glacis (K). The fire of their artillery from the several batteries, except that at the burying-ground of four guns, was also very slow. The two large guns at the bar were this morning withdrawn, and a field-piece brought thither.

THIS morning early we were surprized with the sight of six or seven vessels under sail, and concluded them at once to be our ships from Bombay, but the advance of the day soon discovered to our view the enemy's two ships, and five small vessels, going out of the road, and standing eastward, and as soon as the sea wind came in, they stood to the southward. This extraordinary motion we can no ways account for, but by supposing the enemy have had advice of our ships being somewhere on the coast, and fearful of theirs falling into our hands, have sent them to

5.

1759. take shelter under Pondicherry. A red flag was seen at the great Mount in the morning, and a great smoke, so that we concluded captain Preston and Isouf Cawn are got thither, and hope they will soon get nearer to us. The enemy, last night, fired a good deal of musquetry, and this morning fired three or four rounds from two guns on their breaching battery, but were obliged to close it immediately, and scarce fired a musket shot all day. The four guns at the new hospital were silent or withdrawn, and only two fired slowly at the old hospital. Our working party, of fifty-three pioneers and forty sepoy, were employed on the demi-bastion, north ravelin, and galleries: yesterday that under the north covered way fell in, and had like to have discovered us to the enemy, but being no further advanced than the banquet of our covered way, we turned to the right till we got into the center of the old town wall, and then advanced forward towards the enemy's battery. Indeed we imagined the gallery to have been under the parapet, and were surprized to see, by the face of the covered way, that we were not so far.

Feb. 6. This morning six embrasures of the enemy's battery to the north-ward appeared to be repaired; and by their withdrawing the guns from the new hospital, it is supposed they intend to restore their first grand battery. Nothing else appeared to have been done as to their works, and their battery on the glacis was silent. Our working party, consisting of fifty pioneers and as many sepoy, was employed in repairing the parapets of the demi-bastion, and carrying on our two galleries; thirty sailors were landed from the Shaftsbury to assist the artillery; and the ship, no longer apprehensive of the enemy, went out into deeper water.

EARLY

EARLY this morning the enemy saluted us with four guns and one mortar from their old grand battery, which cannot be much to the credit of the attack, thus to retreat, after having had four guns in battery five days on the glacis. The old north-east bastion, which with three guns had been maintained the whole siege, seems to be the object of their old (but once more new) battery. The angle of the demi-bastion is also battered from four these guns, and as many from the burying-ground fire on the face: so that the enemy have now, as it were, gone back to the 6th of January, and have on us the following batteries: at the old hospital two guns plunging into and enfilading the whole north front; at the burying-ground four guns battering the face of the demi-bastion; at the grand battery four guns, firing on the salient angle of the demi, and on the old north-east bastion, and one mortar, throwing shells of ten inches into the town. On the zig-zag which crosses the ridge of the glacis, three mortars, throwing eight and ten inch shells into the demi and north-east bastions, the blind and fascine battery. Our working party, of fifty pioneers and as many sepoy, were employed in raising and repairing the left face of the north ravelin, repairing two embrasures on the north face of the royal bastion, and in carrying on the galleries.

1759.  
Feb. 7.

THE enemy this morning fired with four guns from their grand battery; but the greatest part of the shot from thence and the burying-ground go over our parapets. Nothing new appeared in their approaches. Captain Barker and myself this morning went off in a Mossula boat on board the Europe ship, and rowed from thence a little to the northward, with an intent to come back along shore, and take a view of the enemy's works in reverse. We got so far north, and so near, as to see plainly behind

8.

1759. hind their grand battery, which at first appeared very ill manned; but in an instant it was filled, and a gun or two turned against us, with which they fired five rounds at the boat. This obliged us to make an hasty retreat, and prevented us from seeing so much of their works as we proposed. A deserter who had formerly been in our service came in from the enemy this evening; and informs us, that the reason they abandoned their battery on the glacis, was, because they lost many men from the superiority of our fire, had several guns disabled, and were constantly apprehensive of being blown up by our mine, which they heard we were making under it. He also assures us, that they are not making any mines on their part, as we apprehended. Our working party, of fifty pioneers and twenty-seven sepoy, were employed in repairing the embrasures on the north face of the royal, which fire on the enemy's grand battery; and those of the old north-east bastion; also in pushing on our galleries, one of which is now under the enemy's battery, and the other so far advanced as to prevent any possibility of destroying the blind by a mine. We had certain advice this afternoon of major Caillaud's arrival at the Mount, but no account of the forces with him. One of the enemy's ships anchored this afternoon in St. Thomè road, which it was determined the Europe ship should attack; for if she is loaded with heavy shells, as we apprehend, we ought to hazard greatly rather than let them be landed; because the damage they will do the works, now the enemy is so near, will be irreparable, and give them an opportunity of effectually establishing the battery on the glacis.

Feb. 9. EARLY this morning we heard a smart cannonading towards the Mount, which continued at intervals all day, and was renewed very briskly towards the evening. The action was, no doubt, between a  
strong

strong party of M. Lally's European forces, with his black army, and our troops under the command of major Caillaud, who had just joined captain Preston and Isouf Cawn, from Tanjore; how it ended is hard to say, but we hope, from the repeated reinforcements which the enemy sent out, that our people had the advantage. In the afternoon two companies of sepoy were sent out to the bar, and from thence proceeded to the garden-house, which posts the enemy had abandoned; they found some ammunition, sand-bags, &c. which they brought away, and set fire to the enemy's gabions. It was intended that our European ship should make an attempt in the night on the ship which anchored off St. Thomé yesterday; however, it was not done, and to day many stores were unloaded and carried to the Black town. The enemy's fire was not very brisk to-day, and most of their shot flew over the town. Nothing appeared to have been done at their approaches. Our working party was last night fifty-one pioneers and twenty-seven sepoy, employed in repairing the demi and north-east bastions, and carrying on the galleries.

THE enemy last night did nothing apparently to Feb. 10. their approaches, and were pretty silent in their batteries. During the day they fired smartly from their northern battery, but most of the shot seemed to be directed for the houses in the town, among which they made great havock; they also threw all their shells into the town, so that the siege seems to be begun a-fresh, and the attack intended against the houses rather than the works. Our working party, of pioneers and forty-eight sepoy, were employed in repairing the old north-east bastion, the demi-bastion, clearing the earth below, and in carrying on the galleries. The enemy's ships went off in the night.

THE



1759. THE enemy last night fired little musquetry, and did not, that we could discover, make any addition  
 Feb. 11. to their approaches. Our working party, of fifty-six pioneers and one hundred and thirty-three sepoy, were employed in repairing two embrasures and thickening a traverse on the demi-bastion; in clearing the rubbish from the mint bastion, in laying a platform and making another embrasure near the beach at the fascine battery. The gallery under the counterscarp being advanced about ninety-five feet, two chambers were made, and loaded with two hundred and fifty pounds of powder each; that before the blind was opened by a pit up through the glacis, and a branch carried on a parallel to the covered way, towards the enemy at the stockade.

12. LAST night the enemy advanced, or rather repaired, a small breast-work they had at the end of the stockade, near the sea-side; but made no other alteration in their approaches. Our working party, of fifty-seven pioneers and thirty-three sepoy, were employed in repairing the north-east bastion and the demi, and in lengthening out the fascine battery quite into the surf, by means of casks filled with sand; placing a barricade of pallisade, chevaux de frise, and trees in front, and raising the parapet. The pioneers employed under the north counterscarp continued to stop the mine, and the Blacks to advance the new shaft. A deserter came in this afternoon over the enemy's lodgment on the glacis, and assures us, that the enemy are making no mines, but are much afraid of ours. The fire of the besiegers artillery and mortars has not been so brisk to day as it was yesterday.

13. THIS morning, between two and three o'clock, we were alarmed by an attempt of the enemy, with thirty Europeans and fifty Coffres, to nail up our  
 guns

guns at the fascine battery : they advanced along the sea-side from the stockadoe, to within thirty yards of our work ; when being discovered, they made an halt, and after receiving a fire or two from a six-pounder placed near the beach, they went to the right about in some confusion, and returned within their works. The drums having beat to arms, the whole garrison repaired to their posts, and plenty of shells and grape shot were thrown into the enemy's approaches. We had a captain and one soldier wounded, and the enemy left five or six men dead on the beach ; and in the morning a serjeant of the Lorraine regiment, being mortally wounded, crawled into our covered way, and died soon after : from him we learnt the force and intention of the enemy. Our working party consisted of fifty-seven pioneers and forty-eight sepoy, who were employed in repairing the north-east bastion, and the demi-bastion ; clearing the rubbish from the north curtain, and clearing the earth from the right face of the north ravelin, with which banquets were made above. The stopping of the mine under the north counterescarp was completed to-day, and intended to destroy the enemy's battery, if ever they attempted to re-establish it. The fire of the enemy's north battery was to-day very brisk, and that at the old hospital silent.

HAVING observed that the enemy, before the rising of the moon last night, had placed some gabions near the sea-side, a little advanced beyond the stockadoe, a brisk fire was kept thereon from the fascine battery, and a sally resolved to be made in the morning. Accordingly, about six o'clock, a subaltern and fifteen men were sent along the covered way till they got on the flank of the stockadoe ; forty more, with two captains, went directly in front of the stockadoe ; and twenty, with an engineer, went without

1759.

Feb. 14.

1759.

out arms. The enemy ran from their post immediately, and our people took possession, which they maintained till the gabions by the sea-side were overturned and thrown into the surf, the earth levelled, and the enemy's tools gathered up; our party then returned, having only two men slightly wounded. The enemy being fired on by the north ravelin, royal bastion, demi bastion, and fascine battery, with grape, besides all the works with musquetry, must have lost many men. We could have kept possession of the stockadoe if we pleased; but it was not thought necessary. The intent of the enemy advancing by the sea-side, must be with a view to bring cannon against our fascine battery; or under cover of the beach, which is steep, to advance, by means of traverses, till they got beyond our place of arms, and then make an attempt on that and the fascine battery together. The enemy were remarkably quiet all night in their trenches and batteries, the only disturbance they gave us being by a shell or two now and then; thus they generally act when they are carrying on any work. Our working party consisted of twenty-four pioneers and thirty sepoy, who were employed in clearing and repairing the embrasures of the north-bastion, repairing the embrasures on the demi, and repairing the caponniere before the blind.

Feb. 15. LAST night, before the rising of the moon, the enemy replaced the gabions which had been overset yesterday morning, and endeavoured to compleat the traverse (N); but the fire of a twelve pounder from the fascine battery, and the shells from the demi-bastion, made such destruction among their gabions, that they advanced their work but little. Our working party, of thirty-five pioneers and forty sepoy, was employed in repairing the north-east bastion, the embrasures of the demi, one embrasure of the royal, the demi caponniere before the blind, and driving the pickets

pickets in front of the fascine battery. The mine being loaded, three pioneers attended it by turns, and were covered at night by ten grenadiers. The enemy's fire to-day was very brisk in the morning from six guns on their grand battery, three at the burying-ground, and two at the old hospital; but at five in the evening they only fired from three at the grand battery and two at the burying ground; a great quantity of artillery indeed to destroy defences! The French frigate having returned the 14th at night, and anchored at St. Thomee road, the sailors which we had on shore, and thirty marines, were sent on board the Shaftsbury, which failed to attack her about eleven at night; but the frigate was gone out of sight by the morning.

1759.

THOUGH the enemy last night did not again attempt to push on their sap by the sea side, we kept a brisk fire till moon-light, and by their silence suspected them to be somewhere at work. Our people were employed in laying large timbers and sand-bags on the beach, to make a platform at the fascine battery for a short iron twelve-pounder of a new make, weighing eleven hundred weight, of which two came on board the Shaftsbury; in driving pickets in the front, and securing the flank of the fascine battery by trees laid in the surf. A party of sepoys were sent to level the earth at the foot of the demi-bastion; but, the moon rising early they were discovered and fired on by the enemy, who killed one man, and the rest thereon abandoned the work. The embrasures of the north east and demi bastions were repaired. The enemy's fire to-day was very brisk from their artillery, but they threw very few shells. We got the platform ready on the beach for the iron twelve pounder by noon; so that we had two twelve and one six pounder to prevent the enemy's approach. About noon a small sloop anchored in the road, and acquainted

1759. acquainted us, that our ships were seen by her a few days before in the latitude of fourteen north, and about five in the evening we perceived six sail to the northward, which we concluded to be ours; and apprehending the enemy, on sight thereof, might attempt something, the whole garrison was ordered to lay on their arms at the several posts during the night.

Feb. 17. THE whole garrison being at their posts last night, a brisk fire of musketry was kept up against the enemy's works. About ten o'clock the six ships seen in the evening anchored in our road, and were known to be those we expected from Bombay. A few pioneers only were employed to lay plank, with nails drove through them, in the front of the fascine battery. About two in the morning the enemy fired pretty smartly from musketry, but their shot flew high; fires appeared at the same time in their trenches, and, by morning, we discovered that the approaches were evacuated, and the enemy were quitting the Black-town, having nailed up all the guns they could fire from, and destroyed the carriages which they thought serviceable. The troops, about six hundred in number, were landed this morning.

THUS terminated the siege of Fort St. George, after the garrison had been shut up sixty-seven days, and the enemy's batteries had been open forty-six. The arrival of the ships from Bombay with succours, doubtless, hastened the enemy's retreat, and saved the Black-town.

As nothing very different from what is met with in all sieges, or laid down as general maxims, was practised in our defence, it will be unnecessary to enter into a particular recapitulation; but I cannot

not with justice omit the following circumstances. To the credit of our artillery let it be remarked, 1759.  
that two twelve-pounders from the north ravelin dismounted four twenty-four pounders opposed to them; and that, of thirty two pieces of cannon found on the enemy's batteries, thirty-one were disabled by our shot, which are many more than we had hurt by the enemy, notwithstanding our works were enfiladed, plunged into, and taken in reverse. I must also mention, as a thing not common in sieges, that the works, by a few men, were kept in extraordinary good repair, and three guns, with a stout parapet, were maintained on the north-east bastion from the first to the last day of the siege. An addition was also made of a battery by the sea-side, and two pieces more were fired the 16th of February than the 14th of December. Nor must I forget to observe, that a few raw men, taken from the pioneer company, greatly out did the much boasted miners of the French, who were to blow whole bastions into the air: for, after the breaching battery was erected, those men, without having seen any thing of the kind before, and without any previous preparation of stantions or tools, were set to open the counter-scarp, and, by continued hard labour, carried a shaft ninety-five feet in length under the enemy's battery, where two chambers were made, and loaded with two hundred and fifty pounds of powder each. This work was executed within a few feet of the enemy, and in sight of their lodgment on the glacis. They saw, and dreaded, but could not interrupt it, though we lost many men. Whoever considers the nature of the soil, and that the shaft was carried on under the explosion of the enemy's guns, which every day made the earth fall in, must allow this to have been a most laborious and hazardous undertaking.

1759. I WILL now proceed to a particular view of the enemy's approaches and batteries, as they were the day the siege was raised; beginning with that on the crest of the glacis.

THIS battery opened with five embrasures; three of which were intended to breach the salient of the demi-bastion, and two to fire against the blind and north-east; but the construction and position was so ill contrived, that the enemy were obliged to close the embrasures every day, after firing a few shot, which in general flew over. The havock made in this battery by our shells and shot, must certainly have been very great; for seven guns, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, with their carriages, lay disabled.

THE lodgment on the east side of the covered way, and behind the stockadoe, instead of being raised with a thick parapet well faced with fascines, and banquets made below, was nothing more than a little loose earth, thrown up into some gabions placed without order. Nor were the crotchets or demi parallels, which ought to have been capacious and well made works, formed in any other manner than the common zig-zags, which were a kind of flying sap about four feet broad; so that, undoubtedly, had it ever been necessary to resolve on attacking the enemy's trenches with a body of four or five hundred men, we could not have failed to drive them from their grand battery, and nail up all their guns.

NEAR the foot of the glacis, on the face of a zig-zag, was a battery of four embrasures, intended to ruin the parapet and dismount the guns of the right face of our north ravelin; but the allignment of the  
parapet

parapet was so far from parallel to its object, that it was hardly possible to twist the embrasures into an opening that the guns might see our work. Here lay four twenty-four pounders disabled. 1759.

On that part of the second crotchet to the right of the zig-zag, the enemy had fired three eight and ten inch mortars; and left behind them two disabled beds.

In the grand battery, which opened fifteen embrasures (of which three were directed to the north ravelin, and twelve on the demi and north-east bastions) were six guns mounted on their carriages; and though the enemy had fired from four of them the 16th in the evening, yet all but one had received considerable damage on the muzzles, and might, in fact, be reckoned disabled; there were, besides, five guns with their carriages, and some spare ones dismounted and ruined. Behind the right wing of this battery the enemy had six mortars of twelve French inches, but removed them, to make room for guns, leaving two disabled beds.

In the battery a little to the left of the burying-ground, which was tolerably well built, and opened four embrasures, were three guns mounted on their carriages, which had been fired the preceding evening, but were all damaged on their muzzles. Five guns in the battery, and one more, near, lay dismounted, and three carriages, by them ruined. This battery, to appearance, was built with a design to enfilade the right face of the north ravelin and the covered way before it; but it was placed a considerable distance to the left of the face produced, and consequently could not answer that purpose; its greatest execution was on the face of the demi-bastion, near the shoulder, against which two guns constantly played.



1759. ON the side of the old town ditch, behind a steep bank opposite the Portuguese church, were the remains of four mortar platforms and two disable beds; and from thence the enemy threw their heavy shells after they had made their lodgment on the crest of the glacis.

ON the battery to the left of the old hospital, I could not discover any guns; but imagine some must have been disabled and buried, as that battery was silent several days before the enemy's retreat. It was built among the ruins of houses, and had six embrasures, from two of which the enemy for some days battered the left face of the royal; but afterwards with four only enfiladed the right face and the covered way before it, took the right flank in reverse, and plunged into the demi-bastion. Adjoining to this battery on the left was another, in a different direction, which opened four embrasures, and from whence three guns were fired on the right face of Pigot's bastion for a few days, after which it was silent; but with what view the enemy directed any fire on that work, no one ever could conceive, because that bastion could neither be attacked, nor offend them.

THE battery built in the front of the new hospital, near the place where the Company's garden-house formerly stood, had four embrasures, and as many guns were constantly fired from thence, till a few days before the siege was raised. It was intended, I suppose, to recochet and plunge into all the works of the north front; and indeed it might have proved the most troublesome battery to us of all which the enemy erected: but I do not think they had cannon enough on it, nor that those they had were managed with the greatest address. There were neither guns nor carriages found on this battery, and  
perhaps

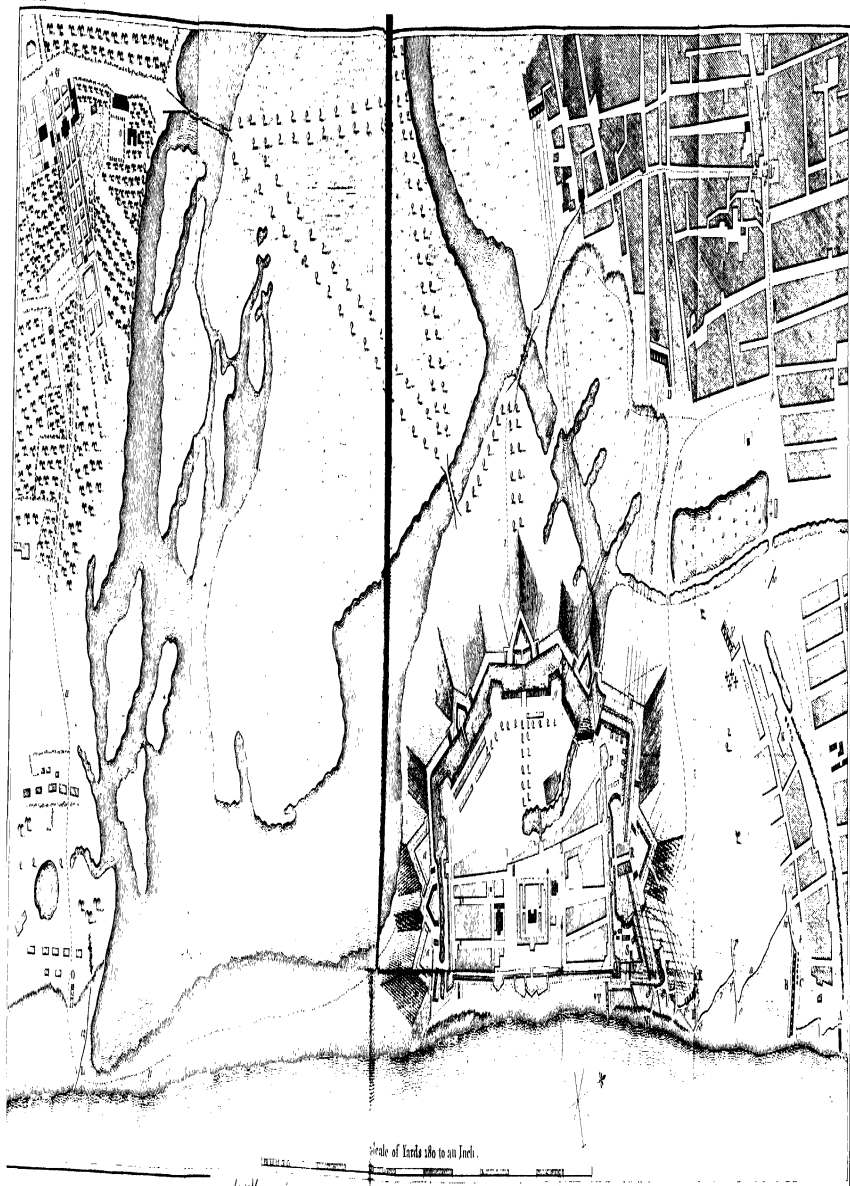
perhaps none were disabled on it; because, as the guns always fired en ricochet, the embrasures were choaked in front, and the guns not to be seen. 1759.

## REFERENCES to the PLAN of the SIEGE.

1. The march of the party under colonel Draper, in the fally the 14th December.
2. A party of the enemy which fired down the street.
3. Two platoons left to check that party.
4. The Lorraine regiment, with four guns, taken in flank.
5. Battalions de l'Inde.
6. Colonel Draper's party, with two guns playing on the Lorraine regiment.
7. A party of our troops behind a mud wall, where eighty of them were taken.
8. Colonel Draper's retreat.
9. The march of a party under major Brereton, to support the other.
10. The regiment of Lally, marching to cut off our retreat.
11. The march of a party which made a fally the 12th of January, under major Brereton.
12. A trench.
13. The Company's gardens, where the enemy had a picket and two guns, which were taken.
- A. The opening of the trenches, begun the 17th of December at night.
- B. The enemy's grand battery, begun 18th at night, and opened 6th January.

**APPENDIX to the PLAN of the SIEGE.**

- C. Six thirteen inch mortars, which played the 5th and 6th January in the morning.
- D. A battery of three guns, opened 2d January.
- E. A battery of four guns and two howitzers opened 6th January in the morning.
- F. A battery of four guns, opened the 7th.
- G. A battery of four guns, which played en ricochet, opened 11th January.
- H. A battery of four guns, opened 23d January, against the north ravelin.
- I. A battery of five guns, intended to breach the demi-bastion, and destroy the blind and north-east, opened 31st January in the morning.
- K. Mortar batteries of the enemy.
- L. Retrenchments, or barricadoes.
- M. A Fougasse, sprung by the enemy the 3d February in the morning.
- N. The last attempt of the enemy to advance by traverses, 14th February.
- O. A battery of two guns, which fired into the town on the south side and at the Shaftsbury.
- P. The royal bastion.
- Q. The north-east bastion.
- R. The north ravelin.
- S. The demi-bastion.
- T. The fascine battery.
- V. The blind before the north-east bastion.



*Plan of FORT ST. GEORGE, part of the BLACKTOWN and the Country adjacent  
as it was when besieged by the French, 12 December, 1758.*



# W A R

ON THE

## COAST of COROMANDEL.

**T**HE enemy when they raised the siege the 17th of February, marched off with so much precipitation, that the Black-town escaped the destruction with which it had been threatened by M. Lally. He marched directly to the Mount, where he left marks of his resentment unworthy of a soldier. Among the rest of his devastations, he ordered three barrels of gun powder to be lodged in colonel Lawrence's country house, and blew it up. 1759.

THE next morning he reached Conjeveram, and immediately began to fortify it against a sudden attack. The want of bullocks, cooleys, and other necessaries, made it impracticable for our army to take the field till the beginning of March. We had then repossessed Poonomallay and Trepasfore, having about thirteen or fourteen hundred Europeans, for the reinforcement which arrived the 17th of February, amounted to six hundred men compleat, and

1759. with these were the Black army of Isouf Cawn and the Nabob's brother.

COLONEL LAWRENCE who commanded, being desirous of bringing on an action, marched towards Conjeveram, and moved round it, exposing his flank; but as he found nothing could provoke the enemy to stir, and being in a very bad state of health, he prudently resolved to quit the command rather than subject himself to certain fatigue (which he could not bear) without a prospect of performing the service he was desirous to accomplish, he therefore returned to England, leaving the command to major Brereton, a gallant officer, and next in rank to colonel Draper, whose ill state of health obliged him likewise to leave a climate which was so prejudicial to him, that he found it necessary to take the first opportunity of withdrawing himself from the bad effect of it. He accordingly took his passage in a China ship, and left the garrison full of regret for the loss a brave officer, who had endeared himself to them by every other part of his conduct and behaviour.

MAJOR BRERETON, to draw out the enemy if possible to an engagement, made a motion towards Wandewash, and opened ground before that place. The French marched to relieve it, and came within nine miles of our army, who advanced between three or four miles towards them, where they remained two days under arms. Major Brereton finding the enemy had taken a post which from its strength, it was not prudent for him to attack, and being informed that they had left but a small force in Conjeveram, made a forced march in the night of the 12th of April, and the day after, entered the town. It was garrisoned by five hundred black troops commanded by Muttapha Beg, an enterprizing partizan, who

who left our service, withdrawing himself from captain Preston, during the siege of Madrafs. Multapha Beg retired with his party to the Pagoda, where he made an obstinate resistance till he was killed, with the greatest part of his followers; but not till they had made the besiegers suffer in their turn, by the loss of four officers, though scarce any men in proportion. Major Monton, as he was reconnoitring, received a wound which entered near his ear, passed through his cheek, and came out near his nose, but he never found any great inconvenience from it. Major Brereton, in the attack, received a contusion on his knee which laid him up for some time, and major Caillaud was wounded in the cheek. 1759.

THESE accidents lost them the critical time of action, for the enemy were never in a worse condition; being ready for a general mutiny for want of cloathing and pay. The desertion of the infantry was very great, and fifty Hussars coming over to us were an addition of a very useful corps, and of most particular benefit at this juncture, as they helped to overcome a very false prejudice which our people had hitherto entertained, that such troops were useless; whereas in fact, though exceedingly expensive, they are absolutely necessary for some particular services, and the sepoys are always in the greatest dread of them. Upon these considerations it was at length resolved to raise a body of between two and three hundred Hussars.

BEING in possession of Conjeveram, we remained there a month, as did M. Lally at Cauvery-pauk, till having contrived to cloath his men, and persuading himself that they would be inclined for action, upon intelligence that Isouf Cawn was returned to Trichinopoly, and that the Nabob's brother had also left the army, he moved towards Conjeveram. At the



1759. the same time major Brereton also marched towards the enemy, so that the two armies unexpectedly found themselves near each other. Many of Draper's battalion being recruits unused to service, and strange to the climate, were so affected by it, that in a march of eight miles, six of them fell down dead, and ninety were taken ill, and by the inclement heat, rendered unfit for service.

THERE was no hesitating in a case of this nature, for M. Lally being informed of these extraordinary accidents, was in full march; therefore a retreat was immediately made to Conjeveram. M. Lally advanced within three miles of the place, and the English could not reconcile it to their sense of honour to be shut up within walls. Major Brereton being greatly affected by the climate, they marched out under major Monson, who though he was prevailed on not to risque a general action against eighteen hundred Europeans, had the good fortune to be successful in several skirmishes, sustained two small attacks which M. Lally made on him, in both which he repulsed the enemy; and having killed a captain, a subaltern, and eighteen grenadiers, rendered his small force so respectable to the enemy that M. Lally, convinced that there was no real disposition in his army for an engagement, prudently decamped and marched in the night to Trivatour, which is twenty miles distant. He then sent his army into cantonments, and went himself to Pondicherry, heartily tired of his command and of the country, as he would not scruple frequently to declare. The same complaints were universally made by all his officers, and most surprizing it is that they could so long keep together, unpaid, a body of troops continually clamouring for their arrears. At length the whole regiment of Lorraine mutinied to a man, and taking possession of four guns, marched out of the garrison with

with their colours to a considerable distance, where they declared their resolution to support themselves, and put the neighbouring countries under contribution for their maintenance. The officers followed them, and by entreaty and promises endeavoured to prevail with them to return to their duty. The intention of the soldiers was not to desert to the English, but only to declare off from serving without pay; therefore the officers were never able to get from them any other answer but that they would agree to return, provided their arrears were paid in three days, otherwise they would, from that moment, begin to subsist themselves in the country. Advice of this being dispatched to Pondicherry, a supply of money was immediately sent from thence, with a promise that the remainder of their arrears should be paid in a week. Upon this the regiment returned to their quarters, and it is remarkable, that not a man of them deserted.

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Colonel F O R D E ' s

E X P E D ' I T I O N

T O

G O L C O N D A.

1758. **T**HE events which preceded, and which immediately followed the siege of Fort St. George, being thus continued to the present state of inaction, the great and glorious undertakings, and providential success which blest the English arms in other parts of the country, may here find a place without impropriety or interruption.

M. LALLY, as soon as he resolved on the siege of Fort St. George, sent orders to Golconda for M. De Buffy and M. Moracin to join him with part of their forces, leaving the command of the army at Massulipatam, with the Marquis De Conflans. Soon after the departure of M. De Buffy, the country powers, heartily tired of the French yoke, embraced this opportunity to throw it off. The Raja of Visanapore collected an army of about three thousand men, marched to Vizagapatam, imprisoned the French chief, plucked down their colours, and hoisted English

lish in their stead, and at the same time plundered the factory. The Marquis De Conflans, in order to punish this insult, marched his army from Masulipatam, purposing to reduce the Raja, and take his capital Visanapore. The Raja not being able to make head against the French army, applied to colonel Clive at Calcutta, acquainting him with what he had done at Vizagapatam, and representing that M. De Bussy had taken most of the European forces out of the country. He assured him, that all the country powers were unanimous in desiring to be freed from the tyranny of the French; and that with a small assistance of Europeans, he would engage to drive them entirely out of those parts. Colonel Clive weighed every part of this precarious enterprize with that coolness and sound judgment, which few men possess in the deliberation on great and perilous undertakings. The council, to whom he communicated his plan, considered it in no other light than as hazardous in the execution, and subject to the most fatal consequences in case of ill success. These did not escape the attention of colonel Clive, but he was at the same time justly prepossessed with the idea of what had been so familiar to him on the coast of Coromandel, where he had so often seen an army of French flying before an handful of English; and he knew that such an event, which he considered as more than probable, would greatly contribute to the preservation of Madras. Animated by the expectation which he with reason entertained, and confiding in his own experience, he took upon himself to influence the council in an affair of so great difficulty, and preferring the security of Madras to any honours or advantage he might acquire to himself by a larger command, chose rather to weaken his own army by detaching two-thirds of his force, than not prevent the Marquis De Conflans from reinforcing M. Lally at so critical a juncture.

1758.

1758. If the dangers incident to the prosecution of this enterprize were so alarming, those also merited attention which threatened Calcutta, if this expedition had not been undertaken. For it should be remarked, that at this very time the Shaw Zadah was preparing to march against the Soubah, our ally; and it was necessary, for the preservation of all our settlements in those parts, to lead an European force to repulse him. Therefore it should be explained, that had M. Lally succeeded against Madrafs, the superiority of our fleet would have been no security to Bengal, and our victorious troops at Patna might have experienced a fatal reverse of fortune, by finding themselves cut off from all possibility of a return, it being nearer by land to Calcutta, from those parts of Golconda, which were possessed by the French, than it is from Patna to that settlement.

PREPARATIONS were made with the greatest expedition, and colonel Forde was ordered for the command of the army, consisting of five hundred Europeans, including a company of artillery, and sixteen hundred sepoy, with six short six-pounders, and a howitzer for the field artillery; four twenty-four pounders, four eighteen-pounders, one eight inch mortar, and two royal mortars, as a battering train.

THE troops embarked the 12th of October, and on the 20th arrived at Vizagapatam. Mr. Johnstone, who was sent before to the Raja, to inform him of their sailing, and prepare for their reception, waited on colonel Forde, to acquaint him that the Raja's army, consisting of between three or four thousand men, were encamped about thirty miles distant, but that the French were much stronger than they were represented, and that the M. De Conflans, with his army, was on this side Rajamundry

## EXPEDITION to GOLCONDA.

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mundry river, distant from Vizagapatam about one hundred and twenty miles ; and that by the best intelligence he could procure, they amounted to near 1758.  
 six hundred Europeans, five or six thousand sepoyes, and many country forces, which had joined them on their march.

THE remainder of this month was taken up in landing the troops, and providing bullocks, coolies, and other requisites, for their march ; and on the 1st of march they moved from Vizagapatam towards the Raja's army, which they joined the 3d, and marched together for some days.

MR. ANDREWS, who was sent from Madras with orders from the Governor and council to take charge of the factory at Vizagapatam, together with captain Callinder, and some of the Company's servants, joined the army the fifteenth. They paid their court to the Raja in form, introduced by colonel Forde. Here the colonel (while Mr. Andrews was present) settled articles of agreement between the Company and the Raja.

I. THE Raja, to pay the extra-expence of our army during the time they should act together, allowing the officers double batty, which was to be paid when we should be put in possession of Rajamundry, (a large town and fort then in possession of the French).

II. THE Raja to possess all the inland country that belongs to the country powers in the French interest, and at present in arms.

III. The Company to possess all the conquered sea coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipatam, &c.

THESE

1758. THESE articles being agreed to and signed, Mr. Andrews took his leave of the colonel, and returned to his settlement at Vizagapatam: captain Callinder, as second officer, commanded as second in camp.

THE army marched for several days till they came within sight of the enemy's camp the third of December, which was near the village of Tallapool, strongly situated about forty miles from Rajamundry; they had upwards of five hundred Europeans, thirty-six pieces of cannon, and some mortars, eight thousand sepoy, and a great many of the country powers. On the sixth, colonel Forde marched nearer the enemy, and gained an eminence at about three miles distance from their camp. The French seemed not inclined to quit their station, and the colonel did not approve of attacking them to so great a disadvantage, therefore determined either to draw them from their present situation, or march round them and get between their army and Rajamundry. About six o'clock in the evening the colonel waited on the Raja to inform him of his intentions, and orders were given out late for the army to march at half an hour after four in the morning, no morning-gun to fire, and no beating of drums, but the greatest silence to be observed. The M. De Conflans expecting the colonel would wait at his ground, and being informed by one of our deserters, that the troops were all raw, and unexperienced in discipline, determined to cannonade our camp, and the deserter undertook to shew the enemy where they might most annoy our people. Their whole troops were under arms at one o'clock in the morning, and a large party was detached with six pieces of cannon conducted by the deserter.

Our army struck their tents, and marched at the hour appointed, not knowing of the enemy's intentions.

tions. The Raja's army being not so alert, was left on their ground. A little before day-break, the French began their cannonade, not being informed of our march; this greatly disconcerted the Raja, who dispatched a messenger after the colonel, acquainting him with his distress. Our men were ordered to halt, and the colonel returned and brought up the Raja's army. They then marched on together, till they came to the village of Golapool, and there they halted on a small plain, about three miles from their encampment: in the mean time the M. De Conflans observing our army had moved, and perceiving our intentions of stealing a march round him, ordered his troops immediately in line of march, and proceeded towards us, keeping between our army and his own camp. We had not halted above half an hour before we discovered the enemy's sepoy, and presently after their whole line, about ten or twelve hundred yards distant on our left flank: in a few minutes after, they closed, and moved down towards us in good order.

ABOUT nine o'clock our line was formed, but the Indian army not recovered of their morning flight, were all in confusion. The Raja, conscious of the ill behaviour of his troops, and also of his own neglect, upon colonel Forde's remonstrances, submitted the disposal of them for the future entirely to him; upon which the colonel ordered all the Indians with fire arms, to form upon the right and left of our sepoy on each wing, as the enemy's line extended much farther than ours. Captain Bristol, a European in the Raja's service, commanding a small body of European deserters, with four pieces of cannon, was ordered to join our artillery on the left of the battalion.



1758.

THE enemy began a cannonade about ten o'clock, which was continued by a sharp fire from both armies for upwards of forty minutes, at which time we observed the enemy's battalion, and their right wing of sepoys, with a body of horse moving up, in order to fall upon our left flank; for they mistook our battalion of sepoys on the left wing for Europeans, being clothed in red cloth jackets. The French drawing near, poured in their whole fire upon them, which was returned by our sepoys pretty smartly, though they were in some confusion, giving way at the same time, while the enemy kept advancing. On seeing this, colonel Forde ordered the European battalion to make a quarter wheel as quick as possible. They had but just time to make their proper front, before the enemy's European battalion were advanced very close. Our people gave them their whole fire, which made a great slaughter, and giving two or three huzzas at the same time, advanced briskly in order to push bayonets. This motion being so sudden on the enemy, they had not time to recover their mistake; at the same time our cannon galled them greatly with grape shot.

As our troops advanced, their men gave way, and soon fell into disorder, going to the right about. Our sepoys on the left wing, that had before given way, renewed their charge; and those on the right wing behaved with uncommon resolution, and soon made the enemy's Black forces on the left give ground, by which means about eleven o'clock the retreat became general. The Raja's troops, except the few Europeans commanded by captain Bristol, all this time were idle spectators, only firing a few rockets. Had the Raja's horse, which were at most five hundred, pursued at this juncture, few or none of the French could

could have escaped; but there was no possibility of getting them to charge, or even advance beyond our European battalion. The other part of his army were more intent upon plunder than fighting. The enemy attempted to rally again at their camp, but were so closely pursued, that they were obliged to disperse in small bodies, making the best of their way for Rajamundry. We took possession of their camp, with all their ordnance, ammunition, stores, tents, and camp equipage; the enemy not having time to carry off any thing but four small field-pieces, and two camels loaded with money and papers, which the Marquis De Conflans had ordered away on the first disorder of their army to Rajamundry, there to wait his further orders. The Marquis, with the commandant of artillery, and their attendance, on finding we had got possession of their camp, made off without waiting for any of their scattered troops, and getting to Rajamundry that night, proceeded the next day to Maffulipatam.

Our army being much fatigued, the colonel halted in the French camp for the remainder of the day. After placing the proper guards of the camp, and securing our prisoners, all the palankeens belonging to the officers, and the covered chairs (which they call dooleys) were sent back to the field of battle to bring the wounded of both armies. The French officers taken prisoners had their paroles given, and leave to go along with our sick and wounded to Cockanara, a Dutch settlement about twenty miles from the field of battle.

WE had forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, among which were two captains and three lieutenants; and the French, one hundred and fifty-six, officers included. Great numbers of the Black forces fell on both sides.

1758. It was a most complete victory, for the enemy lost their whole camp, baggage, ammunition, and all their artillery, except the four field-pieces above mentioned. Our people took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and the Indian army also took some guns. Though the enemy had such a number of guns, they were ill manned, by which means, when their line advanced, the artillery became useless, being all left in the rear, while our guns, moving with the battalion, were constantly in play.

CAPTAIN KNOX, with the first battalion of sepoys, was ordered that evening to pursue the enemy as far as Rajamundry, and there wait the arrival of the army; and the next day, upon receiving intelligence that the French were very strong at Rajamundry, having collected together most of the scattered parties of Europeans, and some Black forces, the colonel detached captain Maclean, with two battalions of sepoys, to reinforce captain Knox; being joined, they marched, and came upon the enemy in the dusk of the evening, while they were crossing the river in boats. They killed some Europeans, and took fifteen prisoners; as for the sepoys, they threw down their arms and dispersed. Captain Knox took possession of the fort of Rajamundry, and from thence cannonaded the enemy across the river, which obliged them to abandon the four field pieces left in the boats on the opposite side.

RAJAMUNDRY is a barrier and key to the Vizagapatam country; the French held it as their own property, and always kept a governor, and a small body of troops to garrison it.

IN this fort were taken more artillery, ammunition, and stores, with about five hundred draught and carriage bullocks, some horses and camels, and  
a good

a good deal of rich furniture. The colonel reserved all the military stores for the Company, and the remainder of the effects were sold by auction, and divided as a reward to the troops for their good behaviour. The army encamped without the town by the river's side; one company of sepoy's doing duty in the fort, and another in the town, to prevent any disturbance. 1759.

COLONEL FORDE now called upon the Raja to fulfil the terms of agreement, and pay the extra-expences; but the Indian Chief, like all his countrymen, could not bear the thoughts of parting with money, and pleaded, as usual, the impossibility of doing it without going about the country to collect the revenues. As it was impracticable to carry on any military operations without money to pay the troops and provide for their march, the colonel was obliged to insist upon the Raja's complying with the articles which were so solemnly agreed to by him, who after many frivolous excuses, and even endeavouring to lay the blame on the interpreter, convinced at length by the justice, necessity, and interest he had in enabling the troops to take the field, about the middle of January, he paid the money, and at the same time colonel Forde delivered up the fort of Rajamundry. The Raja appointed captain Bristol, a European in his service, governor of this fortress; and under his care were left the sick and wounded, and also the spare artillery, and some baggage. Both armies now marched towards Masulipatam, colonel Forde taking the direct road, arrived at Ellore the 6th of February, where he waited for the Raja, who went out of the line of march to raise contributions.

THE French had a factory at Narsipore, about twenty miles from Ellore, at which place there were a

1759. hundred Europeans, and some sepoy; and M. Panneau, the Chief, seemed determined to defend it. Captain Knox, with the first battalion of sepoy, was detached against him, and letters were sent by the colonel's orders to the Raja of Narisipore and his brother, that in case they offered to molest captain Knox's party, or give the French the least assistance, they might expect to see their whole country ruined; at the same time offering him proper encouragement to induce him to enter into our alliance. The Raja of Narisipore having received the colonel's letter, met captain Knox on the march, offering him assistance, and promising to join the army in a few days with what forces he could raise. On the approach of our party, M. Panneau sent away all the Company's goods in boats to Massulipatam, and carried the garrison to join the army of observation, which was encamped about forty miles in our front, consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, two thousand sepoy, and four pieces of cannon. This flying army always kept a day or two's march before us, observing our motions, and harassing the country in order to distress us, and retard our march.

THERE were found in Narisipore two four and twenty pounders, three twelve pounders, and some small guns, with several vessels, boats, and marine stores. All the ammunition M. Pauneau had sunk in the river.

THE Raja's army coming up the eighteenth, and being joined the next day by the Raja of Narisipore, marched together with colonel Forde, and encamped near a small fort, called Concale, on the twenty-sixth. Here the French had placed a serjeant, with thirteen Europeans, and two companies of sepoy, giving him strict orders to maintain the place to the

last extremity. Captain Maclean, with six companies of the second battalion of sepoys, was detached against it. The French commandant of the army of observation had sent the serjeant word, that if he could maintain the fort till the following day, he would send him a large reinforcement. On the approach of our detachment the enemy fired sinarly upon them from the cannon of the fort, however, by the help of a rising ground, and the adjacent houses of a village, our sepoys invested it close round. Captain Maclean attempted to force the gate, but was twice repulled with loss, having several of his men killed and wounded; and finding it impossible to gain an entrance without cannon, he wrote to the colonel, acquainting him with what had been done, and requesting a small reinforcement, and two guns, which were immediately sent, with an officer of artillery, who advanced his guns close up to the gates, and blew them open. Our sepoys entered, and made a great slaughter among the enemy's sepoys: as for the Europeans, they hid themselves till our people ceased firing.

1759.

SOME few hours after we had been in possession of the fort, a country fellow brought intelligence of a party of forty Europeans, and some sepoys, advancing to the relief of the place, upon which, Captain Maclean marched his detachment out of the fort, on a small plain to the west of them; but the French party hearing that the fort was taken, returned back to their own army.

THE Marquis De Conflans was encamped in the Pettah, or village, distant about two miles from the walls of Masulipatam. Here the army was supplied with water, for it is to be observed that there are no fresh springs in the garrison, and here they were poised to so great advantage, that it is surprising the

1759. Marquis De Conflans did not chuse to keep possession of that ground, from whence, if he had been obliged to retire, his retreat would have been covered by the guns in the garrison. However, he did not chuse to hazard an action at any rate; but when colonel Forde appeared on the sixth of March, he moved into the fort, and our army encamped on the ground he quitted, the same afternoon.

THE French had an army of observation, consisting of about two hundred and fifty Europeans, and two thousand sepoys, who lay for some time between our army and Rajamundry, to cut off our supplies from thence: at length they summoned captain Brissol, who was obliged to surrender, having first conveyed away by sea to Cockanara all the money which was sent him by Mr. Andrews from Vizagapatam, for the use of the army, and also the sick and wounded. The advantage which the enemy reaped from the taking of Rajamundry was the disappointing our army of the money, the seizing such baggage and effects of the officers as were left there, and making prisoners twenty Europeans, and forty sepoys.

MASSULIPATAM was invested the seventh of March, the same day on which the news arrived that M. Lally had raised the siege of Fort St. George.

FROM the seventh of March, to the seventh of April, the besiegers were constantly employed in carrying on the usual and necessary approaches. They bombarded the town, and destroyed a great many houses: they battered and made several breaches in the bastions, which the besieged, by their numbers, very easily repaired. On the sixth of April, breaches being made in two bastions, great hopes were entertained of our being able to attack the next day,

day, but notwithstanding our continual fire all night, by the morning of the seventh, the enemy had repaired them; and now the commander of artillery represented to the colonel, that there was only two days ammunition remaining, having expended upwards of four hundred barrels of powder, with shot and shells in proportion, that with brisk firing all day, the breaches might be opened again as before, but that was all that could be done further by the batteries. Upon this report, colonel Forde knowing the consequence which must unavoidably attend the raising the siege, determined to attempt it by storm the same evening. Accordingly the disposition was fixed, and the army ordered to be under arms at ten o'clock at night. Depending wholly upon his Europeans, he destined them for the effectual service: and to amuse the enemy with two false attacks, he ordered captain Knox, with the first battalion of sepoys, to march at dusk of the evening, round the town to the westward, with directions to draw as near the walls as possible, and begin his fire exactly at twelve o'clock. At the same time the Raja of Visanapore was to make another false attack by the gate way, and front of the detached ravelin, with orders to follow captain Knox's fire, making as much noise as possible by firing of cannon, small arms, and rockets, and using every other means to alarm and perplex the garrison. The European battalion, with part of the gunnery taken from the batteries, and some seamen from the *Hardwicke*, and the second battalion of sepoys, with two field-pieces, formed the main attack for the bastions, where the breaches had been made. The first battalion of sepoys began their first fire exactly at twelve o'clock, the hour appointed, which was followed by the army of the Raja according to his instructions.



1759. IN the mean time the party for the grand attack crossed the morais which surrounds the whole city, and came to the ditch before they were discovered. The grenadiers and two battalions of sepoys, pushed for one of the bastions where the breach had been made, and the battalion of Europeans with the gunners and seamen made for the other. While the men were crossing the ditch, the enemy poured in upon them their small arms and grape-shot from the flanks of the bastions, which was soon returned by our musquetry. The enemy were driven from the breaches, but still kept up a smart fire from the other works. As the two field-pieces could not be got over the main ditch, the officer, and men belonging to the artillery, left them, and entered the town with the rest of the troops, where they were of great service by turning the enemy's own guns against them. In this manner they fought the enemy, gaining bastion after bastion, till they approached the gate-way, and cut off their communication from the detached ravelin.

At this time a French officer came to the colonel, from the Marquis De Conflans, asking quarter for the garrison. The colonel sent a captain with the French officer to the Marquis, with the following message, That he could not give quarter while resistance was made in any part, and that unless the besieged would immediately cease firing, and surrender themselves, he should be obliged for his own safety, to put the whole garrison to the sword.

THE Marquis De Conflans dispatched his orders for the troops to quit their arms, and repair to the arsenal, and sent the same message to the out-posts. The firing ceased in about half an hour, and the main body of our troops repaired to the esplanade.

A detachment of one hundred Europeans, two companies of sepoy, and two guns, were posted over the prisoners that night: the next day the gentlemen gave their paroles, and had liberty to walk about the town. and the colonel shewed them great lenity in granting all their effects, except private trade, which was secured by the captors. 1759.

THE enemy suffered greatly, but it was never known exactly what numbers they lost, but by comparing their muster rolls with our number of prisoners, which were four hundred and nine, they must have had above a hundred Europeans killed during the siege, their wounded being included amongst the prisoners.

THE strength of the English in the grand attack was three hundred and twelve in battalion, thirty gunners, as many seamen, and seven hundred sepoy. On the false attack of the gate-way four thousand of the Raja's forces, and seven hundred on the other, but neither of these entered the town. The strength of the enemy in garrison, according to their muster rolls the 6th of March, was five hundred and twenty-two Europeans, and two thousand and thirty-nine Coffrees, Topasses, and sepoy. There were taken above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, one thirty-two, and five twenty-four pounders, and a great quantity of ammunition.

SALABATZING advanced with his army within about forty miles of Masulipatam, some days before it was taken, and there waited like a true eastern politician, the event of the siege. Our success both there and at Madras, freed him from the slavish dread of the French, which had too long influenced his councils.

ABOUT

1759. was determined to fight his way through them and make for Bengal, where he was to have carried a large number of prisoners, but had then only forty on board. The enemy's largest ship got under sail at the same time as the *Hardwicke*, and together with the other exchanged broadsides, till finding they were not able to come up with the *Hardwicke*, they returned and came to an anchor, and Mr. Moracin, who commanded the troops, not having heard the fate of the place, sent a boat ashore about midnight, with a letter to the Marquis De Conflans, to acquaint him that he had brought him succours, and that he should not disembark the men till he received his orders. The next morning discovering his mistake, he sailed for Ganjam, where he staid till the beginning of November, as it was not possible for them to return to Pondicherry against the Monsoon. There he lost forty men in an attack made on him by Narraindu, a Raja of those parts, who projected every scheme he could devise to cut them off by the sword, by famine, or poison. Their numbers were greatly diminished by the above-mentioned distresses, and also by desertion, and when all their provisions and money were gone, the country people left them to the distance of a league all round.

MR. MORACIN then came away in a boat with his nephew and secretary, and arrived about the middle of December at Pouliacat, in his way to Pondicherry. There were about two hundred men left, who went to Cockanara, where some of them landed, and were endeavouring to get the people of the country to join them, but were attacked by captain Fischer, who took ten officers with one of the Rajas who had joined them, and sixteen Europeans, and killed several more, on which those that were in the vessels sailed for Pondicherry, and many of these were drowned.

SURAT.

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# S U R A T

**I**T being the design of this work to treat of such events as have been brought about by the military expeditions of the English in India, the last revolution in the government of Surat, must be considered as a necessary part of this undertaking. 1759.

To give the history of the former state of this great commercial city, farther than it concerns the present change of government, would be here unnecessary, but without a representation of such alterations in the jurisdiction of the city and castle as have not only preceded, but conducted to bring about this revolution; neither the causes nor conduct of the transactions can be understood.

SURAT has for so many years been one of the most frequented cities in the East, that, from the course of Mahometan pilgrims, who make it their road from India to visit the tomb of their Prophet, it has been called the gate of Mecca. The castle has always been held by a governor, appointed by the Mogul, to keep the city under proper subjection, but not to interfere with the government of it.

THE Indian seas having been infested to an intolerable degree by pirates, the Mogul appointed the Siddee, who was chief of a colony of Cosliees, to be his admiral. It was a colony which, having been settled at Dundee-Rajapore, carried on a considerable

1759. derable trade there, and had likewise many vessels of force.

THE Mogul, being equally moved by zeal for the Mahometan religion, and a concern for the interests of commerce, in order to keep the seas open between Surat, and the Persian and Arabian gulphs, had been at the annual expence of a large ship, purposely fitted out to carry pilgrims to Judda, which is no great distance from Mecca. For the security of this vessel, as well as to protect the trade of Surat, which was then very flourishing, he granted his admiral, the Siddee, a revenue called the Tanka, to the yearly value of three lack of roupees, at the time it was first settled; arising partly from some adjacent land, and partly from the revenues of Surat, which were paid him annually by the governor, while his officers were allowed to collect his rents; but he had not the least title to any power independent of the marine.

THE usual endeavours of all Mahometan chiefs to defraud or circumvent each other, are continually producing revolutions. The government of Surat had for some time been backward in their payments, and with-held great part of the sum stipulated from the Siddee, who, to make himself amends, took occasion to send some of his cruisers into the river of Surat, at a time when the Monsoon was setting in, and then made a pretence of the season for their remaining there. Siddee Mussfoot, the commander of that Squadron, made use of this opportunity to get some kind of footing in the government, and to seize on the castle, which he held till his death, when he was succeeded by his son, in the year 1756.

Mussoor not only retained the government of the castle, but greatly encroached on that of the town,

town, and appropriated to himself one third of its revenues; another third has long since been annually paid to the Marattas, and by them farmed out to an officer who resides in Surat. The walls of the town, with the assistance of the Europeans who have factories there, are a sufficient defence against these plunderers; but as they are at all times masters of the whole country up to the very gates, it has been thought expedient to pay them duly their allotment, rather than subject the inland trade to the many delays and difficulties with which it is in the power of the Marattas to clog and interrupt it. They are continually hovering about the place, and watching for invitations, which through the inconsistency and fluctuation of the governing powers of the city and castle, they frequently receive, and though they know that their admission into the town would be the absolute loss of their revenue for the future, (for their government, where-ever established, is fatal to trade) yet from their habitual passion for plunder, they are ever feeding themselves with hopes that some governor in the decline of his power will open the gates and invite them to a present booty, which no arguments of reason or policy can restrain them from seizing.

MEAH ATCHUND, had applied to them for their assistance to turn out Novas Allee Cawn from the government, who himself also entertained a secret correspondence with some of the Maratta chiefs. Meah Atchund, was brought by a party of Marattas from Poona, to the walls of the town; and having so far availed himself of their assistance, he discarded them: for the Siddee preferring him to Novas Allee Cawn, whom he thought to be more dangerously connected with them, agreed to join Meah Atchund, and establish him in the city, upon condition that he would absolutely renounce their alliance: but as the

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1759. government was continually weakened by the encroachments of the castle upon the town, it was daily expected that the Marattas, would take the advantage of this state of anarchy, to which it was in a manner reduced: for the lawless behaviour of the Siddee's son filled the city with riot and murders, while new exactions and additional burthens upon trade grew to be intolerable.

In the year 1758, earnest application was made to Mr. Ellis, the English chief, by the principal merchants and inhabitants, desiring him to recommend it to the presidency of Bombay, to fit out an expedition for taking possession of the Castle and Tanka. They enforced their solicitations by entering into an obligation to become responsible for five years for any deficiency in the revenues of the Castle and Tanka, which were rated at two lack of roupes per annum.

PHARRASS CAWN, who had been Naib or deputy governor to Meah Atchund, and properly speaking the acting magistrate, had regulated the police to the satisfaction of the whole city; therefore it was proposed to have him for Governor, since he had sufficiently shewn how well he was qualified for it by his conduct and behaviour while he acted as second. These proposals were the more readily approved and accepted, as the English had been often grievously oppressed by frauds, extortions and many impediments thrown purposely in the way of their business; as also by frequent insults, violences, and even murders committed on their servants, with a total disregard to the protection of the company. It was also a consideration of no small weight, that the possession of the castle would be a security against the apprehension of the Marattas. These were arguments for undertaking such an enterprize at any time, but  
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what determined the presidency of Bombay to a decisive resolution, and at last caused the expedition to take place, was the weight and influence of the squadron which was at Bombay, in the year 1759. Mr. Ellis, as it has been already observed, had taken great pains to obtain a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs, and interests of the several persons, concerned in the government of the city and castle during his residence there, and had with no less judgment concerted a plan for settling it upon a better establishment.

MR. SPENCER, who succeeded Mr. Ellis, communicated to the governor and council of Bombay, the best information he could procure of the posture of affairs in Surat, in the beginning of the year 1759.

HE found Meah Atchund governor of the town, but with so little power that the Siddee did not so much as leave him the nomination of the officers properly belonging to him, and those of the Siddee's party, who had been most instrumental in lowering the authority of Atchund, were apprehensive of his entertaining a correspondence with the Marattas. The dread of those ravagers, and the frequent murders, which were committed with impunity, since the government of the city ceased to be respectable, had intimidated the inhabitants to so great a degree, that many considerable traders and people of substance had left the place, through apprehensions of being plundered in the contest between the two parties; and those who staid there were sincerely desirous that the castle should be in the hands of the Company, from the confidence they had in the English, and the opinion they entertained of the humanity and justice of their government, trusting that so long as they possessed the castle, they would have influence enough



1759. in the town, to prevent the violence and oppressions which had too long raged without controul.

BESIDES the invitation from the whole mercantile interest, overtures were made to Mr. Spencer from two of the principal men in the government, Siddee Jaffier and Velley Ullah, who engaged to contribute all in their power towards securing the Castle and Tanka for the Company, on condition that they should agree to make Pharrafs Cawn governor of the town, or in case it should be found too great a difficulty to set Atchund aside, it should be determined for the Company to bring Pharrafs Cawn to Surat with their forces, and place him in the government, by agreement, as Naib to Atchund. This was meant for a satisfaction to all parties, there being several who would be less jealous of Atchund while Pharrafs Cawn was thus placed as a check upon him.

THE principal motive of Siddee Jaffier, was the preservation of his large property, which he could not but apprehend to be in great danger under such a government, notwithstanding his influence with both parties. As for Velley Ullah, he acted upon very different principles. He had formerly been a dependant on Novas Allee Cawn, and had sacrificed him to Meah Atchund, with whom he held the same place, but with a greater degree of influence; and this he was supposed to use without any scruple, for the betraying his new master to the Siddee. Conscious of this, and aware of the distrust which Atchund must naturally have of him, from his known insincerity, he was for embracing any opportunity of securing himself by overthrowing or weakening that power which he had too just reason to fear.

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FROM the character of these people, there was very little reliance to be had on their professions of friendship and promises of assistance, therefore it was of much greater consequence to the success of the design to examine into the force that was to oppose it, than to be vainly looking after that which was too precarious to be depended on for support. 1759.

It was soon discovered that the Siddee had about two thousand men in pay, from which, after deducting such as were employed in domestic services, or kept merely for parade, there might remain a body of seventeen hundred, composed of various people, Moors, Gentoos, Arabs, Pattans, and others; but, they were allowed to be a better corps than Atchund's sepoys, which amounted to four thousand. To this body were to be added such a number as they could be expected to raise upon the news of the preparations at Bombay for an intended attack. At the same time it was considered that a body of men so raised, could be no great addition of real strength, since they were not likely to behave themselves as soldiers, on the mere consideration of a few days pay, well knowing that they should be discharged as soon as ever the affair was decided. There seemed therefore to be but one thing to be apprehended, which was least Atchund, or even the Siddee, should in distrust of their own strength, fly to the desperate resource of calling in the Marattas.

THE presidency of Bombay, now fully apprized of all particulars, and being principally upon their guard against the last mentioned fatality, in order to secure themselves from any danger of that kind by sea, and in other respects to give weight to the enterprise, desired admiral Pocock to accompany it with two ships of his squadron. The admiral consenting to their request, gave orders for the Sunder-  
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1759. land and Newcastle to countenance the expedition, for it is to be observed, that the Siddee who enjoyed the Tanka, on condition of keeping up a fleet for the Mogul, had so far fallen off in the performance of that condition that his marine was by no means capable of opposing the ships of the Company.

CAPTAIN MAITLAND, of the royal regiment of artillery, being appointed to take the command of eight hundred and fifty men, artillery and infantry, and fifteen hundred sepoy, was sent on board the Company's armed vessels, commanded by captain Watton, who sailed on the ninth of February, and landed them the fifteenth.

WHEN captain Maitland approached the town, he found some of the Siddee's people had taken post in the French garden, from whence he dislodged them after a hot dispute of four hours, in which he lost twenty men. He then directed the engineer, to look out for a proper place for a battery, which was erected in the night and the next day, and also the three following, a brisk fire was kept up from two four and twenty pounders, and a thirteen inch mortar. The enemy had taken possession of the English garden and Siddee's \* Bunder, and had secured them with works and strong pallisadoes. After this continued firing without any apparent effect, captain Maitland called a council of war, composed of military and marine officers, when they concerted a plan for a general attack, and resolved to carry it into execution the next morning. In pursuance of this plan the Company's grabs and bomb ketches warped up the river in the night, and anchored opposite the Bunder early in the morning, and then a general attack began from the vessels and a battery, with a design to drive the enemy from their batteries,

\* Custom-house.

and so facilitate the landing of the infantry, who were embarked on board the boats. The firing lasted till after eight, when upon a signal made, the boats put off, and landed under cover of the vessels, the military being greatly assisted by the conduct and gallant behaviour of captain Watson. They soon put the enemy to flight, and took possession of all the outer town. There still remained the inner town and the castle. In order to attack them both at once, three mortars were planted at the distance of about seven hundred yards from the castle, and five hundred from the inner town.

ABOUT six in the morning, the mortars began to play very briskly, and continued to do so till two the next morning. The cannonading and bombardment put the besieged into such a consternation that they never returned one gun.

SEVERAL messages past during the attack between the principal persons in the town, and Mr. Spencer, who used his utmost endeavours to place Pharras Cawn in the government; but it appeared that his friends, notwithstanding the hopes they had given, made not the least effort in his behalf, even after the English had been two days in possession of the outer town, but signified to Mr. Spencer, that they chose Pharras Cawn should be Naib, and that the government should be continued to Atchund. These considerations, the expence of stores, and loss of men by the casualties of war and desertion, made it imprudent to persist in bringing in Pharras Cawn against the inclination of his former partizans, and the interest of Atchund, who, should he be thereby provoked to unite with the Siddee, might frustrate the whole design. It was therefore agreed to propose this plan to Atchund and his party, offering to secure the government to him, on condition of mak-

1759. ing Pharrafs Cawn Naib, and establishing the English in the possession of the Castle and Tanka. Mr. Spencer accordingly set on foot a treaty with Atchund, and the following agreement was ratified on both sides.

AGREEABLE to your desire, I sent a person to you, by whom you advised me verbally of your demands, and with sincerity of heart, I now write the particulars I can agree to, which are as follow.

(Atchund's  
Seal.)

(Cootbodeen's  
Seal.)

ARTICLE I. That Pharrafs Cawn shall be appointed to the office of Naib, in its greatest extent, as in the time of Suffair Cawn, and no body but himself shall interfere in the said post.

ARTICLE I. Agreeable to this article, I fully consent to Pharrafs Cawn's appointment.

II. THAT whatever articles Pharrafs Cawn has given in writing, or promised to the honourable Company (the particulars of which cannot be drawn out at present, and must be deferred till we can meet) shall be fully complied with, without the least diminution.

II. WHATEVER Pharrafs Cawn has wrote or promised to do for the honourable Company, I will stand to without the least alteration.

III. THAT the Mecca gate shall be opened, and

III. THE Mecca gate shall be opened, your  
our

our troops admitted, and we shall join our forces to drive our enemy out of the town.

troops admitted, and joined by mine to drive out the enemy. 1759.

IV. THE above articles a person in your behalf demanded, all which I agree to and will comply with, and the government shall be continued to me in full authority, and to the above I have put my own seal, and Meer Cootbodeen will sign and seal the same, after which you must send a counterpart of this writing with the honourable Company's seal affixed.

IV. AGREED to, and that we shall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honourable Company have demanded I agree to.

A COUNTERPART of the above articles were sealed with the honourable Company's seal, and sent to Atchund the fourth of March, 1759.

As soon as these articles were executed, Atchund immediately opened the inner town gate, and ordered a party of men to assist in bringing the Siddee to terms, who being acquainted with this junction, was convinced that it must be impossible for him to hold out against their combined force, and the general voice of the people. After many repeated messages, with a variety of proposals, it was at last granted, that the Siddee's people should have liberty to march out with their arms and accoutrements, and also be permitted to take away all their valuable effects, and even the common furniture of their houses. This was

1759. was done with the greatest regularity, and the English were peaceably put in possession of the Castle and Tanka.

THE guns and ammunition found in the castle were secured for the Company, as also the vessels and naval stores, till such time as the Mogul's pleasure was known. As soon as the grants arrived from Delli, appointing the Company admiral to the Mogul, the ships and stores belonged to them of course as part of the Tanka. It should be remarked, that the above-mentioned grants were solicited and obtained before the murder of the Mogul, and the revolution at Delli; and arrived some time after the reduction of the castle.

THE number of killed and wounded did not amount to a hundred Europeans, but the loss by desertion was greater. Thus was accomplished a revolution of general benefit: peace and good government was restored to the city, and the English acquired a valuable and most necessary possession, to the universal satisfaction of the inhabitants, and also with the concurrence of the people in power.

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## G O M B R O O N.

**A**BOUT fifteen degrees west of Surat, the East-India Company have a small settlement, <sup>1759.</sup> called Gombroon, which being remote from the rest, and what is more, unfortified, could never have had a place in the account of the war in India, had not the French thought proper to beset this defenceless factory with all the parade of a siege, and to crown their hostilities with the pompous form of a capitulation.

THE articles in this capitulation, which relate to the Count d'Estaing, have so greatly surprized the military gentlemen, before whom he gave his parole, that it is evident they will be new to all those who come from the coast of Coromandel: therefore, to satisfy them of the truth of so extraordinary a proceeding, the capitulation is here published, together with the account of the whole transaction.

GOMBROON is an European name for the famous Bunder-Abbassi, which was built by Shaw Abbas when he ruined Ormus. Ormus, that jewel of the world, as it was called, is at this present time a rocky island, so entirely covered with salt, that there is scarce any part of it but what is crusted over with it, at least two inches thick. In all places where they dig, is to be found rock salt, and consequently there are no pools, neither are there any springs of fresh water; notwithstanding which, the Portuguese, from



1759. from its advantageous situation for trade, built a very elegant city there, with a strong fortification: but near two hundred years ago, the Persians, with the assistance of the English, expelled the Portuguese from it. The great Shaw Abbas Sophia of Persia, when he removed the trade to Gombroon, on the opposite shore, granted the English great privileges in commerce, and a proportion of the customs of that port, amounting to near 4000*l. per annum*; but these advantages they have lost by the unhappy state of the country, which has long been in confusion and anarchy.

THE English established a factory here on account of the great demand for woollen goods from Persia, before that country was impoverished by the troubles. The air of Gombroon is so unhealthy from the hot winds, that even the natives themselves fly from it in the bad season, but knowing the time when the ships are to be expected, they come down with caravans, and carry off their lading. As there was therefore no occasion for large warehouses, the Company never erected any fortifications, but only secured the house in which their Agent, or Chief, and his clerks lived, with a very small party of soldiers, barely sufficient to serve as a defence against robbers.

THE Moorish governor of this place, is Moolah Alee Shaw, who ought to be subordinate to the governor of Lhor, as the governor of Lhor should himself be subject to the Sophi of Persia: but the troubles and total want of government throughout all Persia, have made them both in a manner independent. The remains of some strong fortifications at Ormus afford a secure retreat for the governor of Gombroon, when the adjacent part of the continent is disturbed; and when it is quiet he comes to Gombroon, collects the customs, and very often endeavours

vours to extort loans from the Europeans, by laying difficulties in the way of their trade, and terrifying them with his Arabs. It was by such means that Moolah Allee Shaw very lately prevailed with the Dutch to comply with his request of a loan which they had at first refused. These Arabs are very ungovernable and insolent, and when they have been taken in the act of plundering, several of their tribe have run out of the fort and wounded our people who were carrying the delinquents before the governor; and though application has been made for redress to Moolah Allee Shaw, he never could be prevailed on to chastise them, but always excused himself, by alledging, that they were a tribe which no body dared to punish but Sheik Rama. Such instruments had Moolah Allee Shaw to employ for the gratification of his avarice; and from his own disposition he was glad of every opportunity to make use of them.

On the 15th of October, 1759, the French, with four ships under Dutch colours, one of which was a vessel of sixty-four guns, and one of twenty-two, landed to the westward of Gombroon. They advanced with two mortars and four pieces of cannon, and began to batter the factory, which was not a fortification, but only a strong house. The agent and his clerks, together with the crew of the *Speedwell*, which was burnt by the French, did not exceed the number of sixteen men, against whom the French brought at least a hundred and fifty Europeans, and as many Coffrees. The small number of English who were there, did what they could to defend it; as to the Topasses and sepoy, few of them would stand to the guns.

About eleven o'clock, being high water, the twenty-two gun ship hauled within about a quarter  
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1759. of a mile of the factory, and began to fire: at the same time those who were ashore played upon it with their mortars and guns from the westward. At about three in the afternoon a summons was sent from the French camp. Upon a consultation held in the factory, the military gentlemen were of opinion that the house was not tenable; it was therefore unanimously agreed to surrender upon the best terms that could be procured, and thereupon the following capitulation was signed.

*Articles of capitulation for the East-India Company's factory of Gombroon, between Alexander Douglass, Esquire, chief of the said settlement and council, and Monsieur Des Essars, captain of his most Christian Majesty's ship Condé, and commander in chief of the present expedition, and Monsieur Charnyau, captain, commander of the land forces.*

ARTICLE I. So soon as the present capitulation is signed, a detachment of French troops are to take possession of the factory; the keys are to be delivered to the commanding officer, and no person is to come in, or go out, without his permission, as he will take care to prevent disorders and thefts.

II. ALL effects of what kind soever contained in the factory, are to belong to the besiegers, and are to be delivered to the French commissary, with all books and papers in possession of the besieged; the besiegers are to be shewn the warehouses, that they may place the necessary centinels over them. The artillery, arms, ammunition, provisions, money, merchandize and slaves, in general every thing contained within the factory, are comprehended in this article.

III.

III. THE Chief, the Garrison-factors, writers, and all Europeans in the service of the English East-India Company, in general all the subjects of his Britannick Majesty in the factory are to be prisoners of war, under the following clauses only.

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IV. WHEREAS Monsieur d'Estaing, brigadier of foot, and formerly a prisoner of his Britannick Majesty, is now on board the ship *Condé*, in his way to Europe, by the way of *Bufforah*, and being desirous of rendering more secure the intelligence received of an exchange having been made in his behalf, between Mr. *Pigot*, governor of *Madras*, and Monsieur *Lally*, lieutenant-general; it is now agreed between the besiegers and besieged, that *Alexander Douglass*, Esquire, chief of the English East-India Company's factory at *Gombroon*, with *William Nash*, ensign *Johnston*, *Dymoke Lytler*, lieutenant *George Bembow*, lieutenant *Richard Evans*, and *Richard Mainwaring*, are lawfully exchanged for Monsieur d'Estaing; and they are at full liberty to go where and to what places they please, in consequence of which, Monsieur d'Estaing is under no other clause than what is specified in the sixth article.

V. THOUGH the present exchange of prisoners is an unnecessary precaution in behalf of Monsieur d'Estaing, yet all persons mentioned in the preceding article are absolutely free, but should Monsieur d'Estaing have been already exchanged, as he undoubtedly is, in that case, for the seven persons already mentioned who now enjoy their liberty, a like number, and of equal station of his most Christian Majesty's subjects, are to be released whenever a cartel is made.

VI. MONSIEUR D'ESTAING, in order to fulfil with the greatest exactitude the promise he made governor

1758. vernor Pigot, that he would not take up arms against the English on the Coromandel coast only, for the space of eighteen months, reckoning from the first of May, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine: desires it may be inserted in the present capitulation, that notwithstanding he is now exchanged, yet he will keep the promise he made governor Pigot, of not taking up arms against the English on the Coromandel coast only, for the space of eighteen months, but he is at free liberty in all other places to take arms.

VII. If it is possible to agree about the re-purchasing of Gombroon factory, it will be looked on as part of the present capitulation, the besiegers reserving to themselves the liberty nevertheless to do therewith as they may think fit, should no agreement be concluded with the besieged.

VIII. In consideration of the exchange of Monsieur d'Estaing, and at his particular request to Monsieur Des Essars, Alexander Douglass, Esquire, chief of the English East-India Company's settlements of Gombroon, and all others mentioned in the fourth article, have liberty, and may carry away all their own effects of what kind or sort soever, excepting ammunition, provisions, marine, military, or warlike stores.

DATED at Gombroon the fourteenth day of October, at six o'clock in the morning, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

DES ESSARS,  
CHARNYAU.

ALEXANDER DOUGLAS.

WILLIAM NASH,

RICHARD JOHNSTON.

As it must appear very extraordinary that the Count D'Estaing should chuse to have his name so often mentioned in the capitulation, the impossibility of his having had the intelligence he pretends to have received, will make it still more surprising: for it is a certain fact, that there had not been even an attempt made towards his exchange. The parole he gave was in the usual form; not to serve directly or indirectly against the English, during the present war, or till he should be regularly exchanged. 1759.

ON the 12th, while the French were standing into the road, Moolah Allee Shaw came to the factory, and gave the agent all imaginable assurances of his affording him assistance, and that if the French attempted to land, he would do what was in his power to prevent it; but when the agent sent to him in the morning, acquainting him, that they were approaching the shore in order to land, instead of performing his promise he remained quiet in his fort, and though about ten o'clock, he was desired to send a few men to our assistance, he absolutely refused. The reason he assigned for not fulfilling his offers was, that one of his ships (then at anchor in the road) was in the power of the French, and that if he assisted us with any men, they would carry her away. His fear and present interest governed him at that time, and soon after the French landed, he sent them such refreshments of greens and fruits as the season afforded, offering to supply them with whatever was in his power.

THE French during their stay paid little regard to the articles of capitulation. On the 30th of October, at about twelve o'clock at night, they went on board their ships, having first set fire to the factory.

1759. tory. They dug mines in several parts thereof, some of which took effect; they had likewise fixed combustibles to the beams of the apartments and warehouses. The greatest part of the wall of the east-side of the factory was blown up, and the cieling and floor of the apartments of the west-side were burnt. Moolah Allee Shaw's people took away the beams, planks, and window-frames, and set fire to all the doors and other wood-work, for the sake of the iron that was in them.

HAD Moolah Allee Shaw acted a becoming part, many valuables might have been saved, after the French evacuated the factory; for they left upwards of thirty thousand maunds of copper, with several other goods, which they could neither carry away nor destroy: but notwithstanding all the applications that were made to him, instead of placing people to prevent thefts, and secure what remained, or even to extinguish the fire, he gave the factory up to a general pillage; and in a visit he made the agent, he had the assurance publicly to confess, he believed there was not a man in the town but had his share of plunder. What with the copper, and other goods the French gave Moolah Allee Shaw before their departure, and the copper which he clandestinely carried to Ormus, he was supposed to have got in the whole to the amount of sixty thousand roupees, (not reckoning the guns which the French left behind) and his whole gang of Arabs enriched themselves proportionably. As for such of the lower class of inhabitants as had got any booty of copper, Moolah Allee Shaw obliged them to sell it to him, at the rate of two roupees the maund: but the Arabs had the precaution to send their plunder to their different habitations.

THE French and Moolah Allee Shaw, entered into articles of alliance, wherein it was agreed that there should be an everlasting friendship between them, that his ports and vessels should be secure, and that whosoever were Moolah Allee Shaw's enemies, should likewise be enemies of the French nation. The writing given by them was in the French language, signed by Mons.<sup>r</sup> D'Estaing, the counterpart given by Moolah Allee Shaw was in the Persian language.

1759.




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# REVOLUTIONS

A T

## D E L L I.

1757.  IT has already been related by what means the revolution at Delli was brought about in the year 1754 \*.

IN the beginning of the year 1757, Ahmed Abdalla, the Pattan Chief, marched to Delli, and took Allum Geer, and all the Omrahs prisoners.

AFTER having kept possession of the capital for some time, he at length on the 6th of June, sent for the Mogul to his tent, where he received him with great honour, and replaced him on the throne; having first secured to himself as large a treasure as could be expected from the low state of the finances of the Empire. He then proceeded to Agra, and seizing the revenues of that district, marched to Lahore, from whence he issued his orders to all the neighbouring Nabobs and Rajas, that they should acknowledge themselves in subjection to his son Ti-

See page 77 and 78.

mur,

mur, whom he then proclaimed King of Lahore. 1759. Having thus invested his son with the dominion of a country from whence he proposed that he should also superintend the affairs of Indostan, he returned to his own country, recommending to Timur to treat the Mogul with continued marks of regard and friendship.

SHAW ABADIN CAWN, the son of Gauzedy Cawn, and consequently the true Vice-Roy of the Deckan, chose rather to suffer his right to be usurped by Salabatzing than relinquish the office of Vizier, which gave him so great an ascendancy over the Mogul, and consequently an unbounded power in the Empire. But as all power is precarious, the sons of the Emperor became daily more formidable to the Vizier, and created him continual trouble and jealousy. At length about the end of the year 1759, to free himself from all solicitude of that kind, he resolved on the murder of his master, in order that he might place in his stead a more inconsiderable representative of the royal family, who should be less respectable in himself, and not so formidable by the support of his children or other relations. As these were the great obstacles to the ambition of the Vizier, they were no less so to the execution of his present design: therefore to remove them from the capital, he proposed a hunting-match, and took with him the sons of the Mogul, and the greatest part of his friends, to a great distance from Delli. The next difficulty was to overcome the suspicions of the Mogul, and the superstitious principles of the Moors, who though they are ready to execute any kind of villainy, can never be brought to murder their sovereign in the sanctuary of his own palace.

1759. It was well known that Allum Geer had a most particular veneration for the Fakeers; and the Vizier was sensible that unless the Emperor could be prevailed on, by a motive of devotion, to come from under his roof, no other inducement could ever engage him to abandon what he would consider as his only protection in the absence of his friends. Every thing being concerted accordingly, before the departure of Shaw Abadin Cawn, the creatures of that minister came to the Mogul, and informed him that a Fakeer of most eminent sanctity was in the garden, and though it was with great reluctance that the Emperor yielded to the dictates of his zeal, he was at length by their persuasions, prevailed on to go out and meet this holy person, whom he had long expressed a desire to see. He had not advanced many steps in the garden, when two Moors in the habit of Fakeers, came suddenly behind him, put a noose about his neck, and then stabbed him with spears till he died on the spot.

As soon as the Vizier was informed of the death of his master, he immediately confined his sons, and all the friends of Allum Geer, who were then with him, and placing on the throne one of the royal family, whom he thought the most convenient for his purpose, went himself directly to join an army of Marattas, who were waiting for him about thirty miles from Delli.

It was not long before the Pattans, equally displeased with the Vizier for his conduct, and the Marattas for interfering in the government of Delli, marched a considerable force against them, and coming up with them at a place called Paniput, near a hundred miles from Delli, they killed the Maratta general, and put the army to flight, which re-  
treated

## REVOLUTIONS at DELLI.

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treated till they were joined by another body of 1759. their own troops. They were pursued by the Pat-  
tans, and routed again in another engagement.

AHAMED ABDALLA then entered Delli, and placed his son Timur upon the throne; and orders were issued out to all the Rajas and Governors in the neighbourhood, to exert their utmost to prevent the Marattas from approaching the city.

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## NAVAL OPERATIONS.

1759. **N**OTWITHSTANDING the attention of the reader has been long suspended from the Coast of Coromandel, the principal object of this work; it is expedient here to give an account of the engagement at sea in 1759. This will afford an opportunity of pursuing, afterwards, the affairs of the Coast without interruption.

VICE ADMIRAL POCOCK having refitted his squadron at Bombay, and made it ready for the sea by the 17th of April, 1759, sailed on that day for the Coast of Coromandel, using his utmost endeavours to get round Ceylon before the French fleet, which were expected soon to sail from the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon.

HAVING gained this necessary point, he continued in the proper stations to intercept the enemy, or protect our own trade, till the third of August, and then, as the season advanced, proceeded to cruise off Pondicherry, in hourly expectation of the enemy. The whole month being past without any advice of the French squadron, which had so long been expected, provisions and water grew short, and the admiral was obliged while he continued to cruise for the enemy, to proceed to Trincomalay the first of September to water the ships, as he found it very difficult to water them at Negapatam. He had dispatched the Company's frigate *Revenge* a few days before, with orders to proceed off Ceylon, and look out for the enemy. The second, at ten in the forenoon, they saw from the mast-head fifteen sail in the S. E. quarter,

ter, standing to the N. E. which proved to be the enemy's fleet, and soon after perceived the *Revenge* 1759. chased by one of their frigates, which fired several shot at her. Upon this the admiral made the signal for a general chase, and stood towards them with all the sail he could make, which obliged the enemy's frigate to give over chase, and rejoin her own squadron. The abatement of the wind prevented our getting near them when the day closed.

THE French line consisted of eleven sail of large ships. *Le Zodiaque*, M. D'Aché, lieutenant-general, seventy-four guns, and six hundred and sixty men. *The Minotaur*, M. L'Aguille, Chef D'Escadre, seventy-four guns, six hundred and sixty men. *Le Comte de Provence*, M. La Chaise, seventy-four guns, six hundred and sixty men. *Le Centaur*, M. Surville, seventy guns, six hundred and sixty men. *L'Aétif*, M. Beauchaine, *L'Illuminate*, M. De Ruis, and *La Fortune*, M. Lobry, all of sixty-four guns, and six hundred men. *Le Vengeur*, M. Palliere, sixty-four guns, and five hundred men. *Le Duc D'Orleans*, M. Surville le Cadet, *Le St. Louis*, M. Johannes, *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, M. Benvet, all of sixty guns, and five hundred men. They had two frigates, and two store-ships.

THIS extraordinary force, like which none had ever yet been seen in the Indian seas, was chased, invited, and in vain provoked to fight, by a much inferior strength; for the English squadron were no more than nine ships of the line, of which two were only fifty gun ships, and the largest carried no more than sixty-eight guns. They were the *Yarmouth*, vice-admiral Pocock, captain Harrison, sixty-six guns, five hundred and forty men. *The Grafton*, rear-admiral Stevens, captain Kempensfelt, sixty-eight

1759. eight guns, five hundred and thirty-eight men. The Elizabeth, captain Tiddeman, sixty four guns, four hundred and eighty men. The Tyger, captain Brereton, the Sunderland, honourable captain Colville, the Weymouth, Sir William Baird, baronet; all of sixty guns, four hundred and twenty men. The \* Cumberland, captain Somerset, fifty-eight guns, five hundred and twenty men. The Newcastle, captain Michie, and the Salisbury, captain Dent, each of fifty guns, three hundred and fifty men. There were also three frigates and a fireship. From hence will appear, the disproportion of the two squadrons, which was so great that the French had a superiority of one hundred and ninety two guns, and two thousand three hundred and sixty-five men, besides the great advantage in the size of their ships.

NOTWITHSTANDING so apparent an inequality, the French endeavoured by taking the opportunity of the dusk, and falling off of the wind, to steal away undiscovered, but were frustrated in this design by the Revenge, who having orders to make sail to the S. E. and try to keep in sight of them, about eleven at night, made a signal for discovering the enemy, and then the whole fleet bore down towards them.

ABOUT one in the morning of the third, a heavy squall coming on, which continued till three, obliged us to bring to, and clew up our top-sails. At day light we saw the enemy's fleet bearing N. E. by N. about five or six leagues distant. The admiral then made the signal for a general chase to the N. E. Point Pedro on the island of Ceylon bearing west, distant six or seven leagues. At nine, the enemy's

\* The Cumberland being weak and disabled, was reduced from 66 guns to 58.

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fleet bore N. E. by E. and were formed in a line of battle a-head on the starboard tack, with the wind about W. N. W. A little after nine, the admiral made the signal for the line of battle a breast, and stood for the center of the enemy's fleet, which kept under-way, and appeared to go from the wind; by which means we altered their bearings greatly, for by noon they bore S. E. by E. distant six or seven miles. The wind decreasing as the day advanced, we were not able to form our line till near sun-set, two of our squadron, the Tyger and Newcastle, sailing very ill, though they made all the sail they could croud.

ABOUT a quarter after five our squadron being nearly a-breast of the enemy, they wore and came to the wind on the other tack, upon which our ships tackt, the rear first, and steered with the enemy's squadron. We were now about four miles distant with very little wind; had scarcely steerage-way, and continued so till near ten, when a fresh breeze sprung up from the S. S. W. on which we hauled close to the wind under our topsails, and formed the line a head. This shift of wind, brought the enemy a-stern, and a little upon the weather-quarter of our line, but soon after, it proving hazy, we lost sight of them. It is remarkable they made no signal in this or the preceding night, either with guns or lights. The Revenge was sent to look out a stern, but not being able to discover them, was ordered to keep a-head with better success; for about eight next morning, the Revenge made the signal for seeing four sail to the N. E. A general chase was begun by the whole squadron, and continued till near two in the afternoon, at which time seeing no more than two ships, and finding he could not come up with those, the admiral made the signal for the Revenge to come into the squadron, then stood to the northward, and made all the sail he could  
to



1759. to get off Pondicherry, justly concluding the French squadron was bound thither.

THE admiral arrived off Pondicherry on the eighth early in the morning and saw no ships in the road, but at one o'clock in the afternoon discovered the enemy to the S. E. and by three, counted thirteen sail, he was then standing to the southward with the sea-breeze, and to prevent their passing him kept a good look out the following night. At half an hour past six in the morning of the ninth, he saw part of the enemy's squadron to the S. W. and by nine, counted sixteen sail. At two in the afternoon, the wind springing up, the admiral made the signal for a general chase, and at four, the enemy appeared to be formed in a line of battle a-breast, and steered right down upon him. The *Revenge* was ordered to keep (during the night) between our squadron and the enemy, to observe their motions. The tenth, at six in the morning, the body of the French squadron bore S. E. by S. distant eight or nine miles, and was formed in a line of battle a-head, on the starboard tack. We continued bearing down on them in a line of battle a-breast, with the wind about N. W. by W. At ten the enemy wore and formed the line a-head upon the larboard tack. At eleven we did the same, and kept edging down upon them. At two in the afternoon, the *Yarmouth* being nearly a-breast of the French admiral's second in the rear, and within musquet shot, M. D'Aché, made the signal for battle. The admiral immediately did the same, on which both squadrons began to cannonade each other with great fury, and continued hotly engaged till four, when the enemy's rear, and soon after their center, began to give way; the *Sunderland* having got up some time before, and engaged their stern-most ship. Their van made sail, stood on,  
and

and with their whole squadron bore away, and steered to the S. S. E. with all the sail they could make.

1759.

As four of our ships in the van had sustained a hot fire from six of the enemy's largest ships during two hours; after so great a disadvantage, we were in no condition to pursue; for the *Tyger* having her mizen-mast and maintop-mast shot away, appeared in other respects to be greatly disabled: the *Newcastle* was much damaged in her masts, yards, and rigging; and the *Cumberland* and *Salisbury* in the rear, were not in a condition to make sail. The *Yarmouth* had her foretop-sail-yard shot away in the flings; and the *Grafton* and *Elizabeth* were greatly disabled in their masts, yards, and rigging. The *Weymouth* and *Sunderland*, the only ships that had not suffered, could not get properly into action, as *M. D'Aché* began to engage before they could close, and by that means those two were precluded from their share in the engagement, so that only seven of our ships received the whole fire of the enemy's fleet till near the conclusion; and then only eight.

THE enemy continued retreating to the southward till dark, at which time the admiral, ordering the *Revenge*, as usual, to keep between him and the enemy, lay to, with the squadron, on the larboard-tack; in order for the disabled ships to repair their damages. At day-light in the morning, we saw the enemy to the S. S. E. lying to also on the larboard-tack about four leagues distant; the wind being about west. The enemy upon seeing our squadron, immediately wore and brought to on the other tack, and continued so till the evening, when their distance was so much increased that we could scarcely discern them from the main-top. At this time the wind coming to the eastward, the admiral wore and stood under an easy sail to the N. W. the *Sunderland* having the  
Newcastle.

1759. Newcastle in tow, the Weymouth the Tyger, and the Elizabeth the Cumberland.

THE French having received less damage in their rigging (though they were very much shattered in their hulls, and suffered a loss of near fifteen hundred men killed and wounded) were enabled now to gain the only point they seemed to be solicitous of obtaining. They sailed directly for Pondicherry, and landed four hundred European seamen, (for they brought no troops) two hundred Coffrees, about two or three lack of roupées, and the diamonds which they found in the Grantham Indiaman, for that ship had been taken by the French near the Cape, in her passage home. The value of the diamonds might be about two lack more.

OUR loss was very considerable, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy. We had one hundred and eighteen men slain in action, and sixty-six died of their wounds. Besides these, a hundred and twenty-two were dangerously wounded, and two hundred and sixty three slightly, so that our whole number killed and wounded, amounted to five hundred and sixty-nine men. Amongst the slain was captain Michie, who commanded the Newcastle, captain Gore of the marines, and lieutenant Redshaw, both of the Newcastle. Lieutenant Elliot and the gunner of the Tyger, the master of the Yarmouth, and boatswain of the Elizabeth. Captain Somerset, who commanded the Cumberland, was wounded in one of his ankles, and captain Burton received a contusion on his head. All the officers and seamen in general behaved with the greatest bravery and spirit during the action, and by the vigour and constancy of their fire obliged the enemy to retreat, notwithstanding their great superiority.

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## NAVAL OPERATIONS.

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THE admiral having lost all hopes of renewing the engagement, on the fifteenth stood into the road of Negapatam. There he anchored and continued repairing his damages, and refitting the Squadron till the twenty-sixth, when having put the ships in as good condition for service (as the time permitted) he weighed and stood to the northward. He was joined by the *Revenge*, which he had sent with dispatches to Madras, who brought him sixty three men belonging to the *Bridgewater* and *Triton*. They were taken in Fort St. David, and had been exchanged at Pondicherry. These he ordered on board the *Tyger* and *Newcastle*, as those were the ships which had lost the greatest number of men in the late engagement. 1759.

By this frigate the Governor and Council sent a letter to the admiral, of which the following is an extract.

S I R,

THE *Revenge* anchored here in the night of the fourteenth instant, and the next morning we received the honour of your letters, dated the eighth and twelfth instant, containing advice of your discovering the enemy's fleet on the second, and after much fatigue, bringing them to action the tenth. The warm fire you sustained for two hours with seven ships against eleven, and obliging them at last to make their retreat, will do immortal honour to you and Mr. Stevens, and all the brave officers who have the happiness to serve under you; and we feel much for the commanders of the *Weymouth* and *Sunderland*, who were deprived by the nature of the enemy's disposition, from coming in for an equal share of the glory of the day. We look upon this as the last effort of the enemy, and well might they boast of their superiority; but the check they have met with will shew them

1759. them that they are disappointed of the mighty effects they expected from this armament. It is fortunate that you found means to force them to an engagement before they reached Pondicherry, as the troops they may have brought for landing, have, no doubt, had a share in the loss. As yet we have not heard of their arrival at Pondicherry, but we suppose them there by this time, as the winds have been strong southerly. After they landed their troops and stores, no great advantage can be hoped by engaging them again, and we would rather take the liberty to recommend the waiting until joined by the reinforcement expected from England, &c. &c.

Fort St. George,  
Sept. 16, 1759.

THE French by their having been some time at Pondicherry, must have had it in their power to come out from thence well prepared for action: but the admiral, as he was obliged to pass them in his way from Negapatam to Madraſs, judged that his doing it in the night would be liable to misinterpretation, and that it would certainly give the enemy reason to conclude, that we had suffered so much in the late action as to be desirous of avoiding another engagement; therefore he determined not to pass the enemy's port without looking into it by day-light.

THE twenty-seventh at day-break our fleet were got close in with Pondicherry road, where the French squadron was laying at anchor in a line of battle. The squadron was not in a condition to withstand the fire of both the ships and fort at once, therefore the admiral drew into a line of battle a-head upon the starboard tack, and was then very near within random shot of their nearest ship. The wind being off shore, and about W. S. W. our ships lay with their main-topſails to the mast, just keeping a

proper steerage-way for the line to continue well formed. While our ships continued in this situation, the French admiral made the signal at six o'clock to heave a peak, and an hour after to weigh, and by the time all their squadron, which consisted of eleven sail of the line, and two frigates, was under sail, it was near ten o'clock, at which time, as the wind was off shore, our ships were consequently driven to leeward of them, and lying as before mentioned, expecting they would bear down directly and engage; but M. D'Aché made the signal for his squadron to keep close to the wind, and also to make sail, and stretched away to the southward in a line of battle a-head, by which manœuvre they increased their distance from about random shot at day-light, to near four leagues to windward at sun set. Had they cut or slipped their cables on first discovering us, we must have come to action by seven o'clock, and after they got under sail, had they bore directly down, we might have been close along side by eleven.

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THE admiral was now convinced that the enemy had no inclination to come to a second action; and as their whole conduct manifested an intention to get off and make good their retreat to the islands, he consulted the rear-admiral and captains on their present situation, and the probable consequence of a further pursuit. They all agreed in opinion that the French officers being resolved to satisfy themselves with the very trifling service they had done the Company by stealing in those insufficient supplies to Pondicherry, were now determined to avoid any farther engagement; and that if we pursued with any view of coming up with them, they would lead our shattered squadron quite to their islands. But besides, that the condition of our ships would not permit us to follow them at all to the southward, upon so little pro-

1759. spect of service, there was a more cogent reason for their immediate return to Madraſs, for at that time there was not above two days bread on board the ſquadron, and but very little water.

It was expedient to repair to that port as ſoon as poſſible, in order to get a ſupply of proviſions and water for the voyage to Bombay, before the change of the Monſoon \*, which was near at hand, at which ſeaſon it is dangerous to remain on the coaſt. Therefore the whole ſquadron anchored in Madraſs road on the twenty-eighth, and ſuch expedition was uſed in victualling the ſhips, and adminiſtering to the recovery of the ſick and wounded, that they were enabled to ſail again the 17th of October; and the next day they met rear-admiral Corniſh with four ſhips of the line, and the Ajax, Stormont, and Houghton Indiamen, on board of which was colonel Coote with the greateſt part of his battalion.

ADMIRAL POCOCK ordered all the troops which were brought out in the ſhips of war to be put on

\* On the Coaſt of Coromandel the wind changes from ſouth to north-eaſt moſt commonly between the fifteenth and thirtieth of October. It is beſt to leave the coaſt between the fifteenth and twentieth, but it is full late to ſtay till the end of the month. In order to effect ſome very important ſervice, it may be not altogether imprudent to riſque the wintering a fleet in theſe ſeas, becauſe in India, as in all other places, ſome winters are more, and ſome leſs tempeſtuous than others. In 1741 M. de la Bourdonnais remained on the coaſt without any danger till the twenty-second of October, but in 1746 he was ſurprized with a ſtorm, which ſunk and damaged his whole ſquadron. In 1747, and 1748, the Engliſh fleets kept the coaſt, and met with no violent winds during the whole ſeaſon. And on the twenty-fourth of April, 1749, there was a tempeſt which deſtroyed fifty or ſixty veſſels of different nations. All that one can infer from hence is, that it is prudent to leave the coaſt in the middle of October. *Memoire M. de la Bourdonnais.*

board

board the Queenborough, and dispatched her, with the three Indiamen, for Madraſs, where they arrived the twenty-ſeventh. The whole ſquadron now ſailed for the coaſt of Malabar, and in going round Ceylon, they met with ſuch hard gales of wind, that the Cumberland and Salifbury made the ſignal to ſpeak with the admiral, being in great diſtreſs from leaks, which they could not keep under with all their pumps. The Salifbury's diſtreſs being the greateſt, the admiral ordered her to be aſſiſted with eleven men and an officer from each ſhip, for their own people were over-fatigued by being kept conſtantly to the pump; and notwithstanding this ſupply of freſh men, and their having thrown overboard thirty of their guns, at the end of two days they found the water ſtill gain upon them, and were obliged again to make the ſignal of diſtreſs. Upon this, the admiral ordered all the boats in the fleet to ſtay by the Salifbury to ſave the crew, in caſe of the ſhip's foundering; and ſent admiral Corniſh and captain Hariſon on board, to examine into her ſituation before he would too haſtily take the people out of her. They immediately ordered freſh men to the pumps, beginning with their own barge-crews, and by this means they ſoon cleared her, and by the help of a thruſt'd-fail put under her bottom where the principal leak was, they made it practicable to keep her free with half her pumps, and now judging her to be no longer in danger, they returned to their own ſhips, and the Salifbury made ſail the next morning.

THE admiral being deſirous of ſending rear-admiral Corniſh to the coaſt of Coromandel as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, diſpatched him with the Lenox, Duke of Aquitain, York, Falmouth, Weymouth, and Sunderland, for Telichery, which was the general rendezvous. The weather becoming



1759. exceeding fine, and the Monsoon appearing to be set in, the admiral suffered every ship to make the best of her way for the intended port, knowing that a single ship will always make a speedier passage than a fleet, and as they arrived they might begin to take in their water, and put their sick on shore. The twentieth of November the Yarmouth arrived at Tellichery, as did the Elizabeth and York, and by the thirty-first the whole squadron came in.

THAT no time might be lost for refitting the ships at Bombay, and preparing them for their return to the coast of Coromandel, the admiral gave orders to admiral Stevens on the twenty-sixth, to proceed directly for Bombay, with the Grafton, Elizabeth, Tyger, and Salisbury, and followed himself the twenty-ninth, leaving orders with admiral Cornish to sail with the six ships under his command to the coast of Coromandel on the fifteenth of December, as it was to be hoped the season would then be favourable, and the sick and wounded recovered.

ADMIRAL Pocock had received orders to return to England, nevertheless upon the news of fresh disturbances in Bengal, he determined to remain with the Yarmouth some time longer, and acted in pursuance of this resolution, till such time as advice was received of the entire re-establishment of the affairs of Bengal, and the signal victory obtained over the French on the coast of Coromandel.

1760 UPON so happy a turn in the affairs of the Company, the admiral thought it now adviseable to comply with the orders for his return, especially as he had the satisfaction to see the command devolve on so brave and experienced an officer as rear-

rear-admiral Stevens, whose worth had been proved by his behaviour in the three engagements, as well as by the constant harmony which had always subsisted between them, and his alacrity to concur in any service for the honour of his country. 1759.

THE admiral had himself received from the three Presidencies the strongest expressions of their sense of the zeal which he had at all times shewn, and the actual services which he had so often performed for the benefit of the East-India Company, and the honour of the British flag. Having at length resumed his intention of returning to Europe, he dispatched rear-admiral Stevens for the coast of Coromandel on the twenty first of March, with the Grafton, Elizabeth, Tyger, and Newcastle, and sailed himself the seventh of April in the Yarmouth, leaving at Bombay the Salisbury, which had had a thorough repair, and was then almost ready to sail, and the Cumberland, which was to be taken into the dock the first high tide.

ADMIRAL POCOCK anchored at Anjengo the seventeenth of April, and sailed from thence the twenty-first. He there received a letter from admiral Stevens, dated the eleventh, on which day he sailed from that port, acquainting him with his proceedings, and that he had retaken three small English vessels off the Vingorla Rocks, from the Malwans, a set of pirates who had taken them but a few hours before. There had been no account of the French squadron since the time of their departure from Pondicherry on the second of October, 1759.

ON the eighteenth of June, admiral Pocock arrived at St. Helena, where he found the Colchester and Rippon waiting to convoy seventeen of the

1759. Company's ships, three of which were of extraordinary great value, having on board a large quantity of rich goods and diamonds from Bengal. For the security of so considerable an object, the admiral thought proper to delay his voyage till the seventh of July, on which day the whole fleet being ready to sail, he took them under his command, and anchored in the Downs the twenty-second of September, with the richest convoy that ever arrived at one time in England. •

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ON THE

COAST of COROMANDEL.

**T**HE China ships being arrived at Madrafs with three hundred of colonel Coote's battalion, in the beginning of September, major Brereton, now commander in chief, being very sanguine for action upon the strength of this reinforcement, prevailed on the Governor and Council, though with difficulty, to consent to an attempt upon Wandewash. Both armies had laid some time inactive; the French in Gingee, Wandewash, Arcot and Chitteput, and our troops at Conjeveram. At Wandewash was a party of four or five hundred French, which colonel Brereton, by a sudden march, proposed to shut up or drive from thence, and then take the place before the enemy could collect their force. Every thing was to be ready with great secrecy by the tenth, and all necessaries were accordingly prepared. The rains which fell about this time caused a delay till the sixteenth, when the news arriving of the engagement between the fleets, the Governor and Council wrote to major Brereton, that they thought it would be better

1759.

1759. to make no motion till it was certain whether the enemy had received any reinforcements.

MAJOR BRERETON being unwilling to be withheld from a favourite project, by a supposition to which he did not give any weight, marched and took Trivitore the twenty-sixth, where he made prisoners one captain and twenty-two men of the Lorraine regiment, and eight hussars. He then proceeded to Wandewash, and endeavoured, but in vain, to draw the enemy to an action out of the Pettah, (the town or village belonging to and commonly surrounding every Indian fort.) The French having some intelligence of our preparations, by the delay from the tenth to the twenty-fifth, discovered our intentions, and had made themselves almost equal to our force, which was far short of seventeen hundred men, the number that had been at first proposed. Major Brereton gave out orders for an attack to be made upon Wandewash-Pettah at three o'clock in the morning of the first of October, by majors Monson and Cailaud, with five hundred men at one end of it, and major Gordon, with two hundred men between the fort and Pettah. Major Monson meeting with little resistance entered without loss, and soon after major Gordon attacked, but received to warm a fire from the fort and the Pettah, that his party broke, and only twenty men got in with him: however he joined major Monson, and they advanced to the head of the Pettah, having driven the enemy quite out of it. But as our people were exposed to a great fire, and every street was enfiladed from the fort, they retreated towards the center of the Pettah, and there took post, detaching some pickets in the street to the right and left, which was all that could be done till day-light.

THE French having made a disposition for that purpose, at day-break attacked our parties on all sides, who after near two hours warm dispute, were obliged to abandon the Petrah, (leaving four guns behind them) with the loss of two hundred and two men in the action and retreat. The enemy suffered no less in point of numbers, but we had a most essential disadvantage in the loss of eleven officers of approved worth and bravery. The army was still in a condition to have undertaken something of consequence, but the advanced season, the scarcity of provisions, and the discouragement of an unsuccessful attack, were reasons that justly determined them to go into cantonment at Conjeveram.

1759.

In the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, near El-lavanafore, is a strong place called Tagada, held by Kistnarauze, an ally to the Nabob, who had been very troublesome to the French, and frequently, with the assistance of the garrison of Trichinopoly, beat several of their parties. His little fort was by situation almost impregnable, but wanted ammunition to hold out against such a force as the French were now resolved to send against it.

CAPTAIN SMITH apprized of their designs, and having intelligence that a considerable party of the enemy were actually marching against it, consisting of one hundred European infantry, forty hussars, five hundred black horse, fourteen hundred sepoy and matchlocks, and five pieces of cannon. Captain Smith had the precaution to throw into the place three companies of sepoy, under the command of serjeant-major Hunterman. Afterwards he detached lieutenant Raillard with forty Europeans, six companies of sepoy, three small guns, and a large supply of ammunition, with orders to proceed within a night's march of Tagada, and then to forward the ammu-

1759.

ammunition with one company of sepoys: and from the particular situation of Tagada, he had great hopes of throwing in this supply with safety. Before the party reached Volconda, the Nabob's horse, in number one thousand, marched and joined them.

THE enemy having collected all their forces, made four several attacks on the town of Tagada. They brought two guns to each gate, and ordered two parties to escalade the walls. The attack continued a considerable time, till at length a party forced a passage at one of the gates, and brought four guns into the town, so that it was with great difficulty the garrison could gain the rock, where there were some provisions, ammunition, and water. They sent word to lieutenant Raillard that they would hold out till he came to their relief, which they desired he would do as speedily as possible, as they had lost near one-third of their people in the late attack. The enemy suffered much more, having thirty Europeans, and two hundred sepoys killed and wounded. Kistnarauze, with all his horse, and sepoys, marched in the night from Tagada, and the next day joined lieutenant Raillard, by whose advice it was determined the next morning early to attempt the relief of Tagada. They marched accordingly, till they came within two miles of the fort, where, upon the appearance of the enemy, they halted and began to cannonade. This gave time to the French to bring up their artillery. Upon the first discharge of the field-pieces, the Nabob's horse fled with the utmost precipitation, nor could all the intreaties of lieutenant Raillard and Kistnarauze bring them back. This happened before the enemy's infantry appeared. Soon after our sepoys seeing themselves abandoned by the horse, took a pannic and fled likewise. About two hundred, chiefly officers, remained with the Europeans and Topasses, who guarded the guns, and were endeavouring

endeavouring to make good their retreat to a village about a mile in their rear; these being in some disorder, were hard pushed by the enemy's European cavalry and some infantry, who having taken possession of the guns, our whole party was entirely routed, the Europeans and Topasses either killed or taken prisoners, many of the sepoys cut to pieces, and all disarmed. Lieutenant Raillard, who was on horseback during the engagement escaped being made prisoner, but did not long survive the disgrace of his defeat, for it made such an impression on him as doubtless produced his unfortunate end. Having no cartridges to load his arms for his fatal design, he bruised himself so much with repeated strokes on the breast and head with his pistols, that he fell off his horse and expired, about five miles from the scene of action. As he was found there with no other marks of violence, it is evident he destroyed himself in the manner above mentioned. 1759.

THE miscarriage of this brave man was owing to his impatience at the cowardice of the Nabob's horse: for as soon as they broke, he left his own troops, who were in need of his presence, and might have profited by it, and rode among the broken cavalry, vainly attempted to rally those who were alike insensible to his exhortations or reproaches. Soon after serjeant Hunterman surrendered the fort of Tagada upon honourable terms.

THE French, to make a diversion to the southward, and also to have at hand a sufficient force to surprize Trichinopoly upon the first favourable occasion, marched a large body of men towards Serin-gam. An advanced party of them were discovered from the Golden Rock, near Trichinopoly, and a sally was made from that garrison with some Europeans, sepoys, and the Nabob's horse, who came upon



1759. upon them in the night and took one officer, thirty Europeans, forty Coffrees, and sepoy, and killed or dispersed the remainder of the corps, taking also their arms, baggage, and ammunition, with two field-pieces. The main body of the French army, consisting of above a thousand Europeans, continuing their march to Seringam, attacked and carried it, there being only two companies of sepoy to defend it. As this small body made a gallant resistance, the French, in resentment, most shamefully turned them out of the place, and then sent their horse after them to cut and mangle them, and fired grape shot on some that were then got to the glacis, by which means above a hundred were killed. The French left two hundred Europeans at Seringam, and returned with the rest to join their army, since which, one of their convoys going to Seringam was surprized by captain Smith who commanded at Trichinopoly.

ON advice of an escort being at Utatore, captain Smith detached a party of fifty Europeans and some sepoy to intercept it. The French marched an equal force from Seringam for the protection of their convoy. Captain Smith, as soon as he found they had weakened their force at the Pagoda, attacked it with the remainder of his garrison from Trichinopoly. As he received a wound in the attempt, it had no other consequence than that of bringing back the French detachment. Our party in the mean time attacked the convoy in Utatore, took two officers, with thirty-eight grenadiers, and disarmed three hundred sepoy, carrying off or destroying all the ammunition and provisions.

AFTER this, captain Smith, with the assistance of the King of Tanjore and Tondeman, retook several posts, and interrupted the communication with Seringam,

ringam, till at length M. Lally, thinking the place in danger, reinforced it with a body of horse, and two hundred European infantry. 1759.

It has been already related that three hundred of colonel Coote's battalion were brought by the China ships in September, and that he arrived himself with the remainder of his corps in the Queenborough and the three Indiamen on the twenty-seventh of October. As soon as colonel Coote landed, the necessary preparations were set about for his regiment to take the field. It was in this interval that the enemy sent the large detachment afore-mentioned to the southward, and possessed themselves of Seringam. The Presidency apprehending they might extend their designs against Trichinopoly, recommended to colonel Coote to proceed with all expedition to join the army at Conjeveram, and to form an attack against some of the enemy's possessions in that neighbourhood, in order to draw their troops from the southward. The army accordingly marched from Conjeveram the twenty-fifth of November, and the next day a detachment under major Brereton invested Wandewash. Two batteries were erected with great expedition, they were opened the twenty-ninth, and a summons was then sent by colonel Coote to lieutenant Mahony, who commanded in the garrison, to surrender. He very properly returned for answer, that he would defend the fort to the last extremity.

On the thirtieth, a breach being made, the Killedar, or Moorish Governor, sent to treat with the colonel, offering to pay a sum of money, and deliver up the French garrison, upon condition of his being continued in the government of the fort; but before any agreement was perfected, the French soldiers, fearing the intrigues of the Killedar, got upon the

1759. the walls and calling out to our people, declared they would deliver up the garrison. Five officers and sixty-three private men were made prisoners on this occasion, and a place of great consequence in this country, which had been often threatened by our army, was at length taken without any loss on our side. There were five hundred sepoys in the fort, besides the European garrison.

FROM thence the army marched immediately to Carangoly, and on the sixth of December opened a battery against that fort, which was defended by colonel O'Kennely, and one hundred Europeans, and five hundred sepoys. The breach was made the eighth, but there being yet a ditch, the passing of which might have been attended with loss of men, colonel Coote thought it better to grant the garrison the terms of capitulation they demanded, which were, that the Europeans should not be made prisoners, but have leave to march to Pondicherry : and accordingly the fort was surrendered.

THE French troops which were assembled at Arcot, being joined by the detachment from the southward, the son of Chunda Saib, and the son of the Killedar of Wandewash, were sent with other emissaries to bring over a party of Morarow's Marattas. They had already a great number of country troops brought in by M. De Buffy, who went with a few troopers as far as Cadapa, to pay a visit to Bafaleztzing on his return to Golconda, and not being able to persuade that Prince to return with him, engaged one of his chiefs with a considerable number of country horse and sepoys, and brought him with great state to Arcot. These were joined, the ninth of January, by Innis Cawn, Morarow's chief officer, with three thousand Maratta horse, besides a number of foot, who followed them for plunder.

The

The French force at Arcot consisted (according to the best intelligence) of near two thousand five hundred Europeans, and M. Lally himself resumed the command of the army upon this occasion. 1759.

COLONEL COOTE having posted his forces in a strong situation between Cauverypauk and Arcot, not more than three miles from the advanced guards of the enemy, remained there in order to cover our districts in the best manner he could against the ravages of the Marattas, who were dispersed on all sides in small parties on purpose to drive off the cattle, plunder the inhabitants, and destroy the produce of the country. The army with colonel Coote consisted of two thousand one hundred Europeans, (including the artillery, the cavalry, and officers of all denominations) about four thousand sepoy, and fifteen hundred country horse. The great number of cavalry on the side of the enemy rendered it indispensably necessary for us to take into the service as many of the best as we could procure, notwithstanding the immense expence; for without them the army would have been absolutely unable to keep the field, as it would have been impossible to have supplied it with provisions.

THE day after the junction of the Marattas, M. Lally moved with his whole force from Arcot by the road of Wandewash, but on the second day, a party turned towards Conjeveram, who ransacked the town, but could not get possession of the fort, being repulsed in the attempt, by an officer with two companies of Sepoy. Colonel Coote, upon this intelligence, marched with all expedition from Cauverypauk to Conjeveram. Upon his approach, all the enemy's parties retired from that neighbourhood, and joined their main body at Papatangel, a town upon the road from Conjeveram to Wandewash.

1759. THE enemy's designs proved to be against the latter place, where captain Sherlock commanded with one hundred and fifty Europeans, and eight companies of sepoy. The sixteenth in the morning, the enemy attacked the Pettah adjoining to the fort, and after a stout resistance from three companies of sepoy, commanded by an ensign of the sepoy establishment, lodged themselves there, and set about erecting a battery. The twentieth, they began to fire against the walls from one twenty four pounder and three eighteen pounders.

WANDEWASH was thought a place of too much consequence to be suffered to fall without making some attempt to relieve it; therefore, though the enemy might have some superiority in Europeans, besides their multitude of Blacks, it was determined to march the army towards them.

It had long been debated at Madras, and was always matter of doubt with many members of the Council, whether it would be expedient to hazard an action at so critical a time, for till the arrival of the good news from Bengal, the affairs of the coast bore a melancholy aspect. The enemy had greatly the superiority in European horse, which would have led on the Marattas to destroy our army totally in case of a defeat. They had already plundered and destroyed the country, and increased the scarcity of provisions to so great a degree, that the cry for rice both at Madras and in the army, was exceedingly alarming. The army also made continual demands for their pay, when the country was entirely exhausted of cash. At length a vessel arrived from Bengal, with the welcome news of the establishment of peace and tranquillity in that province, and the long expected supply of money.

THIS was a great relief to the present anxiety, and gave spirit to our counsels, as well as to the army and our allies, and must be supposed to have had some effect on an enemy that was naturally presumptuous. But these circumstances did not cause the Governor and Council to act with less precaution. Still dubious of the event, they approved of Colonel Coote's march towards the enemy, but at the same time strongly recommended to him to keep Chengalput and Carangoly in his rear, that he might be supplied with provisions, and have his retreat to Madras secured, in case of any unfavourable event. 1760.

COLONEL COOTE, being determined to march the army towards the French, took post at Outremaloor the seventeenth, and judging by his advice from captain Sherlock, that the breach in the fort might be practicable, the twenty-second he resolved to make an effort to raise the siege that morning; for this purpose he marched with the whole army the twenty-first in the evening, and encamped at Trinborough, about ten miles from the enemy, where he gave out the following orders.

Trinborough Village, January 21, 1760, seven o'clock in the evening.

THE army to march to-morrow at six o'clock by the left upon the taps beating, which is to be looked upon the same as the generals beating, it is to form and be ready to march off immediately after. All the cavalry and five companies of sepoys to form the van of the army, except two hundred Black horse, who together with three companies of sepoys are to cover the baggage in the rear. The army to observe the orders given out the twenty-seventh of December, which were, that the first line consist of colonel  
Z Draper's

1760. Draper's regiment on the right, colonel Coote's on the left, and the Company's in the centre; the artillery to be divided as follows; four pieces on the right, four on the left, and two pieces between each interval, making in all twelve in the first line. The second line to consist of the grenadiers of colonel Draper's, colonel Coote's, and the Company's, with one piece of cannon upon each flank, who are to form two hundred paces in the rear of the first line: an eight inch howitz to be between the two lines. Major Breiton to command the right of the first line, major William Gordon on the left, and major Robert Gordon the centre. Major Monson to command the second line. The cavalry to be divided into five squadrons, the Europeans to make the centre squadron. The names of the Jemidars, who are appointed to command, to be given into the commanders in chief to-night. When the line forms, the cavalry will have orders to form about fifty paces in the rear of the second line, having a proper interval between each squadron: at the same time the five companies of sepoy who supported the cavalry are to form upon the right of colonel Draper's regiment, and the five companies of sepoy, that were in the rear of the line of march, to form on the left of colonel Coote's regiment, five companies who were on the left flank of the line of march, are to form in the following manner; two on the right of the second line, and two on the left, and one on the rear with the cavalry. The whole army, as well Europeans as Blacks, are to have a green branch of Tamarind tree fixed on their hats and turbans, likewise on the tops of the colours, in order to distinguish them from the enemy. The commanding officers of corps are to take particular care that their respective corps are properly told off, and that the men know their right and left hand men and file leaders. They are to be cautioned

cautioned not to give their fire till they are ordered by their respective officers, &c. &c. 1760.

THE army marched at six o'clock in the morning of the twenty-second, agreeable to the orders that had been given out the day before for that purpose. About seven o'clock our advanced guard of horse and that of the enemy began to fire at each other, upon which captain Baron de Vasserot who commanded the cavalry, was ordered to form them in order of battle; he was supported by five companies of sepoys and two pieces of cannon, and colonel Coote advancing himself with two companies of sepoys, obliged the enemy to retire to their main body of horse, which consisted of two hundred Europeans and three thousand Marattas on the left. As the whole of our cavalry advanced, that of the enemy retreated in pretty good order, till our cannon, which was extremely well served, obliged them to retire precipitately. The major of the brigade was then sent to the army, which was about three quarters of a mile in the rear, with orders for them to form the line of battle, but not to advance till the colonel had joined them, who soon after, having taken possession of a tank, which the enemy's cavalry had occupied, returned to the line, which by that time was formed. After reviewing the whole, and finding the men alert and eager to engage, he ordered the army to move forwards. About nine o'clock they arrived at the post they had driven the enemy from, which was about two miles from their camp, and halted in their view near half an hour, during which time colonel Coote went very near to them, and reconnoitred their situation. Upon finding they were strongly posted, and his flanks exposed to the enemy's cavalry, which was greatly superior to his own, he ordered the army to march by the right in order to gain the advantage of a hill about three miles distant, and



1760. near two miles from Wandewash fort, and the horse, which was then in the front, to wheel to the right and left and form behind the second line, in order to make the rear guard. Thus he covered his right flank with the hill, and had some villages in his rear, to which he sent his baggage, and this motion obliged the enemy to alter their disposition. During all this time they cannonaded each other, and skirmished with their advanced posts and Maratta horse, but the latter soon disappeared and returned no more. The enemy after making their second disposition, moved forwards under the cover of a bank. The cannonading then began to be smart on both sides, and the two armies advanced briskly towards each other.

At twelve o'clock the enemy's European cavalry pushed with a great deal of resolution in order to force our left, and come round upon our rear. The colonel immediately ordered up some companies of sepoys and two pieces of cannon, to sustain our cavalry, who had orders, when the enemy approached, to open to the right and left, which gave room to pour in grape-shot upon the enemy's horse from the two pieces of cannon, the musquetry also galling their flank, while our cavalry wheeled and charged them in front. They were immediately thrown into confusion, and pushed back above a mile from our left, upon the rear of their own people. Our army now advanced upon the enemy, who kept their flank well covered by a tank, till we approached near enough to perceive the disposition of their army, which was formed in the following manner. The regiment of Lorraine on the right in line of battle, the regiment of Lally on the left with the marine formed into a column, and the brigade de L'Inde formed into another in the centre, with two tanks covering their right and left, and some broken ground in front. By this time it was near one o'clock,





ARMY MARCHING

THE VILLAGE

Wandewash

The  
English  
Camp  
here which  
they Retreated

PLAN  
of  
the BATTLE of  
WANDEWASH  
gained over the French  
By Col. Coote  
22 Jan 1760.



o'clock, and both armies continued advancing till they came within the reach of musquetry, when a shot from our guns striking one of their tumbrils, it blew up, by which accident, five of their guns became useless to them: upon this major Brereton wheeled colonel Draper's regiment to the left, and charged their left flank, which was executed with great order and resolution, and much to the honour of that corps and their commander; colonel Coote seeing that regiment likely to suffer from a body of Black troops, together with their marines who were under cover, and fired very briskly upon them, and at the same time finding the enemy had reinforced their left with a picquet from Lally's regiment, ordered the grenadier company of Draper's, which was on the right of the second line, to support their own regiment, and having likewise two pieces of cannon playing upon the enemy's flank, completed the rout of that wing, who abandoned their cannon and fell upon their own centre, which was by this time, together with their right, closely engaged with our left. He then ordered up major Monson with the rest of the second line, and placed him so as to be able to support any part of our line, at the same time flanking the enemy. About two o'clock their whole army gave way, and ran towards their own camp, but finding that we pursued them, they quitted it, and left us entire masters of the field, together with all their artillery, except three small pieces, which they carried off. There were taken twenty pieces of cannon, three of which were twenty pounders, one twenty-four, and one thirty-two pounder.

THE French had eight hundred killed and wounded, two hundred of which we buried in the field, and we took two hundred and forty prisoners, of which number two hundred were wounded. We

1760. lost only fifty-two Europeans, officers included, in the field of battle: there were besides one hundred and forty-one wounded, of which some died of their wounds: and among these was the gallant major Brereton, who had the honour to have so great a share in the success of that glorious day.

THE French army consisted of two thousand two hundred Europeans, including artillery and cavalry; three hundred Coffrees, and between nine and ten thousand Black troops. They had twenty pieces of cannon in the field, and five in their batteries against the fort, where they blew up a large magazine of powder upon their retreat. Our army amounted to seventeen hundred Europeans, including artillery and cavalry, three thousand five hundred Black troops; and all our artillery were fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitz.

THE principal persons among the prisoners who were taken, were brigadier general de Buffy, Le Chevalier Godeville, quarter master general. Of Lally's regiment, lieutenant-colonel Murphy, two captains and two lieutenants. Of the Lorrains regiment, one captain and one lieutenant. Of the India battalion, two lieutenants and two ensigns. Of the marines, Le Chevalier de Poete, knight of Malta, who died of his wounds. All the above-mentioned were wounded, except M. de Buffy, and an ensign of the India battalion. Colonel Coote indulged these gentlemen, together with M. Godeville, with leave to go to Pondicherry on their parole: but when he learnt that several officers on parole had been in the action, he wrote to M. de Buffy and the other two officers to repair to Madras, according to the tenor of their parole: in answer to which, M. Lally sent to offer him their ransom in money.

So

So compleat a victory over a superior force could not have been obtained, but by the masterly conduct of colonel Coote, and the universal good behaviour of all the officers and men; and it would be great injustice to pass over in silence the extraordinary diligence and skill of the officers of the artillery. 1760.

THE enemy retreated as fast as possible to Chetteput, which is eighteen miles from the field of battle, and the next day assembled the remains of their broken army at Gingee; but the twenty-sixth, M. Lally thought proper to retire within the walls of Pondicherry. Our cavalry, being fatigued, were not able to pursue them the evening of their defeat, but the next day colonel Coote sent out two detachments to harraßs the enemy; and upon advice of M. Lally's retreat, he sent fresh orders to captain De Vasserot, who commanded the horse, to destroy the French country round Pondicherry, as M. Lally had done by the environs of Madraß. To prevent his being interrupted in this expedition by the Marattas, who were then between Arcot and Chetteput, the colonel wrote to Innis Cawn, to advertise him that, since he had shewn by his behaviour in the late action, as well as by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he came not into the country as a soldier, but only as a plunderer and marauder, he must now immediately quit the country, or he should be compelled to it, and if intercepted, he must expect no quarter for himself or his troops.

THE Maratta general, sensible of the small benefit he reaped from his alliance with the French, who were in no capacity to pay him, decamped without hesitation, and went off to his own country; and captain De Vasserot proceeded without interruption to lay waste the bounds of Pondicherry. This was not done as a mere act of retaliation, but as a very necessary

1760. necessary step towards the reduction of that place, as it struck a terror into the inhabitants, promoted the disposition to desert, and alarming the Black people with the dread of a siege, caused them to move off, and deprived the garrison of the necessary assistance of the Cooleys. Besides this, captain De Vasserot took four thousand head of cattle.

ON the twenty-eighth, colonel Coote marched to Chetteput, and began to erect batteries, at the same time summoning the Chevalier De Tilly, who commanded there, to surrender, which he refused. The next day, after a breach was made, the garrison flung out a flag of truce, and surrendered prisoners of war. Here were four officers, fifty-four Europeans, besides seventy-three who had been wounded in the battle of Wandewash, and were at that time in the hospital; and three hundred sepoy. In the fort were taken nine guns, and a large quantity of ammunition.

CAPTAIN SMITH having been detached after a small party of French and sepoy, with two brass eight pounders, returned with them the thirtieth, and also brought in a captain of the Lorraine, regiment and three French commissaries. And major Monson having thrown a few shells into the fort of Timmery, it soon surrendered, and twenty Europeans were made prisoners.

COLONEL COOTE immediately after the battle of Wandewash, sent orders to captain Wood to invest Arcot. He soon got possession of the Pettah, having routed Zulapherzing's forces, and taken his whole camp. On the second of February he was joined by colonel Coote, who marched with the whole army, and encamped within two miles of the place. The same day he began to erect batteries  
against



against the fort. Two of five eighteen pounders, against the curtain between the north-west corner tower and the gateway, one of two eighteen and one twenty-four pounder against the tower and curtain west of the south-west corner tower, and one of a twelve pounder against the north gate, to enfilade the west front.

1760.  


THE next day the enemy threw a number of shells from the garrison without any effect. The batteries were opened on the fifth, and the next day two of our guns were disabled, and two men killed and four wounded.

ON the eighth, colonel Coote having carried on his approaches to the south-west, within two hundred and sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, and those to the west within two hundred and fifty, summoned the garrison to surrender. He received for answer from captain Hussy who commanded there, that in case he was not relieved in six days he would then deliver up the garrison, on being allowed the honours of war.

UPON this, hostilities were re-commenced, and some of our men were wounded at the batteries and in the trenches, by the enemy's shells and fire-balls; Our whole loss amounted to no more than seven men killed and sixteen wounded: for the next day, the approaches being carried on within sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.

COLONEL COOTE took possession of the fort of Arcot the tenth of February, and thereby not only restored to the Nabob the capital of his dominions, but greatly weakened the French force in India, by a capture

1760. capture of two hundred and thirty six European soldiers, three captains, and eight subalterns.

M. LALLY, immediately after his defeat, sent orders to recall his troops from Seringam; by which means he augmented his army with a great reinforcement of Europeans (near five hundred horse and foot) but at the same time being obliged to abandon that part of the country, all those valuable districts, from whence the Nabob draws so considerable a part of his revenue, and, without which, Trichinopoly does not produce enough to defray the ordinary expences of the garrison, were now left to be visited by his several renters and collectors without molestation.

REAR-ADMIRAL CORNISH, arrived at Madras the twenty third of February, with six ships. As the French had no fleet upon that coast, he had no object but to co-operate with the land forces; however the Falmouth meeting with the Haerlem in her way from Merguy, obliged her to run ashore two leagues to the northward of Pondicherry.

THE garrison of Permacoil and Alamparva having surrendered prisoners of war, colonel Coote proceeded with the army to attack Waldour and block up Pondicherry by land, and at the same time major Monson, with the chief engineer, seven gunners, and fifty pioneers, embarked on board the fleet in order to begin the siege of Carical, with the assistance of the marines. They were to be joined by forty of the artillery, one hundred Europeans, and two thousand sepoy, from Trichinopoly.

THE fleet arrived in the road of Carical the 28th of March, and at five in the evening major Monson landed with the pioneers and three hundred marines,  
about

about four miles to the north of Carical. They marched directly to the town, and took possession of it the next morning, with very little loss; but finding themselves annoyed by a redoubt in their rear, called Fort Dauphin, they threw into it some shells the thirtieth at night, on which the enemy abandoned it, and retired to Fort Lewis. This opened their communication with the country, and supplied them with provisions. By the first of April they had finished a battery of four eighteen pounders, and being joined by the Nabob and the reinforcement they expected from Trichinopoly on the third, they invested the place on all sides that night. By the fifth they had erected several batteries, breached one bastion and dismounted several guns, when major Monson received advice that M. Lally had sent one hundred and fifty European horse within twenty miles, and four hundred foot as far as Chillambrum to relieve the place. Immediately upon this intelligence he summoned the commandant, and after a little difficulty, the place was given up and the garrison made prisoners of war. It consisted of two hundred and six Europeans including officers, and two hundred sépoys. The fort is a small square with ravelins before each curtain, a false bray half round, a good ditch with some water, a covered-way pallisadoed, and a good glacis with bomb-proof places in the different works for five hundred men. The sailors were of great service in landing the stores, which they disembarked in the night close to the enemy without loss.

MAJOR MONSON marched next to Chillambrum and summoned the garrison, who by their answer seemed determined to stand an attack, but in the night some pioneers who were carrying fascines to a battery, mistook their way and marched right against the fort. The French, apprehending they were coming

1760. ing with ladders to scale the wall, cried out that they surrendered at discretion. They were no more than forty Europeans, with six officers, and between two and three hundred sepoys and Topasses. About half that number were at the same time in garrison at Verdachilum, who surrendered also soon after. Major Monson in the beginning of May joined colonel Coote, having in the space of a month done great service to the Company by depriving the French of very valuable possessions. The marines were reim-barked, and Mr. Cornish about this time was joined in the road of Fort St. David by vice admiral Stevens with five ships from Bombay. The arrival of the Norfolk and Panther, on the 14th of June, encreased the squadron to thirteen sail.

COLONEL COOTE, having taken Waldour and Villenourg, encamped in the front of that village, with his left on the descent of the Red hill, about four miles from the town of Pondicherry, and a mile and a half from Oullagary where the enemy still kept post. He threw up redoubts in the several avenues, as they did also on their part, and the advanced parties were within musquet shot of each other. During this time the French made three attempts on Cuddalore; in the first they carried off seventy sick marines and sailors, and in the two last were repulsed with loss.

WHILE the English, depending on their own bravery, received only some slight assistance from the Nabob, whose cause they had supported at the expence of so much blood and treasure, the French were seeking for some turbulent neighbour whom they might prevail on, by promises of territory, to introduce an army into the country, and by calling off our troops to the preservation of the parts invaded,

ed, divert them from their operations against Pondicherry.

1760.

It was in vain to tempt the King of Tanjore with the promise of countries hereafter to be taken from the Nabob: but the state of the kingdom of Maissore afforded the fairest opportunity for intrigue. The Young King, as has been already related, having been in a manner confined to his seraglio by the ambition of his uncles, was at this time kept as a state prisoner by Hydranaig, who, having the command of the army, usurped all authority, and was induced to employ it in the conquest of the countries round Tagada. This was to be his reward for assisting the French; and the first service he rendered them was to carry in some cattle and provisions to Pondicherry. In this attempt the Maissoreans attacked a guard of twelve European and two hundred Black horse and some sepoys. The Black horse ran away, but the European horse and sepoys, though quite surrounded, broke through the enemy and retreated to camp with very little loss. The Maissoreans in their return from Pondicherry were intercepted by a detachment from the army, and defeated with the loss of forty men, two hundred horses and all their camp equipage.

To draw the Maissoreans from Pondicherry to the protection of their own country, captain Richard Smith marched from Trichinopoly with seven or eight companies of new-raised sepoys, and such of the country force as he could on a sudden get together; and arriving on the frontiers of Maissore, took two or three small forts, without opposition. This encouraged him to attempt Carriour, a barrier of strength, and a key to the Maissore country. He sent to Trichinopoly for cannon, and under the cover  
of

1760. of them, passed a river in spite of the garrison of Carriour, who endeavoured with two thousand men to oppose his passage. He erected two batteries against the fort which had an esplanade of four hundred yards round, and at the same time carried on a sap. At the end of ten days, finding the garrison disposed to surrender on honourable terms, he very readily granted them, and with little loss or expence acquired a country which produced five lack of roupies *per annum*, and secured such an opening into the Maissore country as greatly contributed to the recalling of their troops from the assistance of the French.

It happened about this time that the Marattas had been in motion to collect their annual tribute, and having settled the Chout for the country of Maissore were advancing to demand it of the Nabob of Arcot. The Presidency of Madras, knowing the present scarcity of money in the province, and apprehending great interruption from an incursion of these plunderers, had the good fortune to prevail with them to stay some time at the pass in the mountains, till they should send a proper person to settle the payment. This small delay proved to be of the greatest consequence, for in that interval, the King of Maissore and his other ministers, to deliver themselves from the tyranny of Hydranaig, engaged the Marattas to attack his forces and cut him off; and to induce them to the undertaking, alledged that it was solely owing to him that their tribute had not been paid them. The Marattas immediately marched against him, and he retired towards a fort which he had depended on for his security, but the governor, though a creature of his own, turned the guns against him. This unexpected change of fortune obliged him immediately to recall the troops he had sent to the assistance of the French, and to use  
all

all possible dispatch in raising more. The King, on 1760. his part, having satisfied the Marattas for the share they had in this revolution, engaged them to assist in compleating it, and at the same time that he thus removed them from the province of Arcot at so critical a juncture, he sent to Madras to propose terms of friendship, disavowing the proceedings of Hydranaig as a rebellious subject. His message was received with due respect, and orders were immediately sent to Carriour for all hostilities to cease on that side.

M. LALLY having detached two hundred men to augment the garrison at Gingee, major Preston was ordered to take post at Ratelagranom in order to cut off the enemy's communication with Pondicherry. He had already under his command fifteen hundred sepoy's and as many black horse, and being now joined by a considerable body of Europeans, he attacked some strong posts on the hills, and having carried two of them, effectually prevented the enemy from moving out that way. In this situation the two parties continued observing each other's motions. The army also remained inactive, being greatly weakened by the detachment sent off to major Preston.

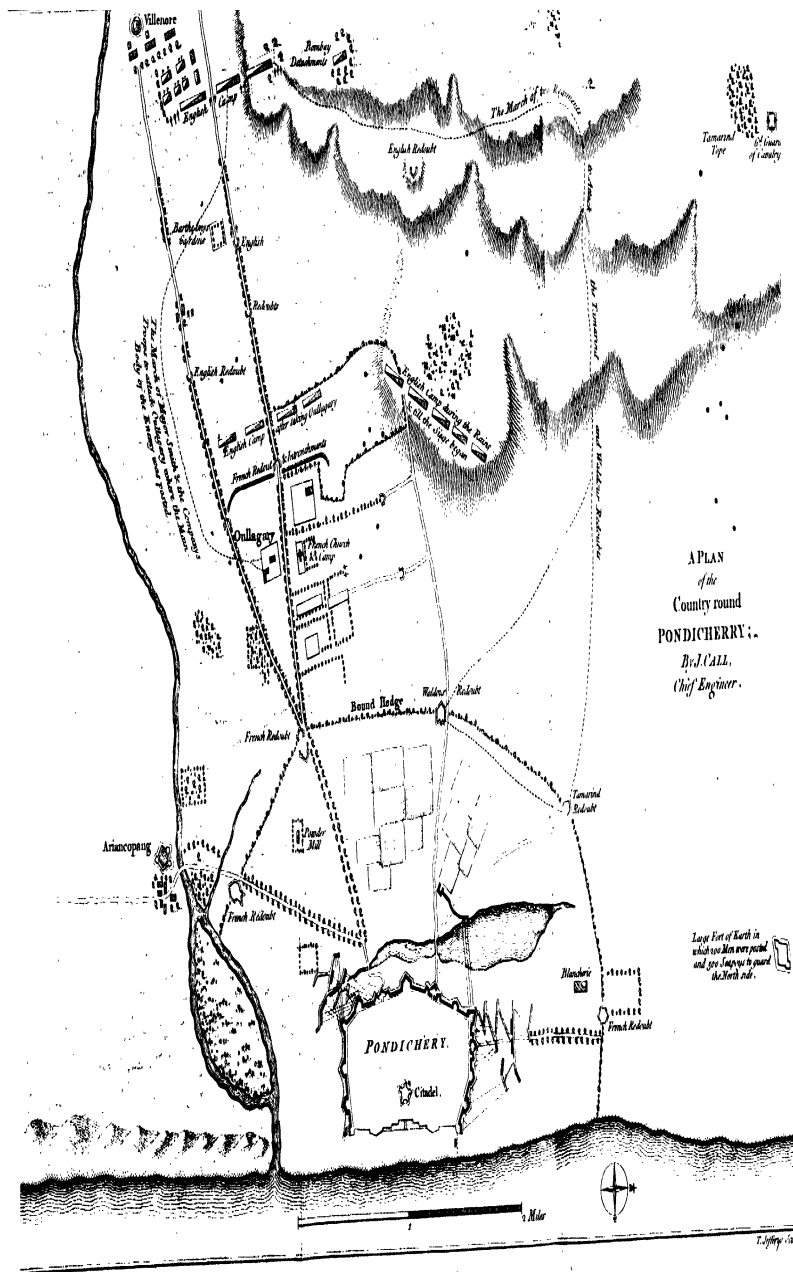
At length, the rainy season drawing near, governor Pigot and colonel Coote solicited the admiral to land his marines, in order to assist in taking Ariancopang. They were landed at Cuddalore the 29th of August, and arrived at the camp the next day. Colonel Coote immediately made a disposition for attacking Ariancopang by a detachment of eight hundred men under major Monson, while he with the main body marched against Oullagary where the French were strongly posted.

1760.

M. LALLY, who had intelligence of this plan, resolved, by an unexpected bold stroke, at once to defeat it and gain some considerable advantage over the remainder of the army. Accordingly about four in the morning of the 3d he made four attacks at once, by the signal of two rockets, on our four advanced redoubts, where we had only sepoy with a few gunners. The French were repulsed, with loss, at all except one which they surprized, and set on fire, having made three gunners prisoners.

THE next night an attempt was made on the redoubt near the Tamarind Tope, which was a post intended to shut up the town on that side, and strongly guarded by Europeans. The attack was brisk, and the officer who led pushed with such determined resolution that he was killed on a limber which closed the barrier, but the enemy was repulsed with loss. The Company's ships arriving at this time brought major Monson a commission of colonel, by which he took rank of colonel Coote, who, being superceded, immediately retired to Madras with intent to go to Bengal, though he was still to retain the command while he remained on the coast. When he left the camp, he gave power to colonel Monson to make what motions he should think proper with the army; who, being joined by the battalion of Highlanders which arrived in the aforesaid ships, gave out orders on the 9th at midnight, for the whole army to attack the French posts at Oullagary Church and the redoubts in the Bound-hedge. Major Smith, with the Company's troops, marched directly to Oullagary where the main body of the enemy were posted, and beginning his attack a little before day-light soon drove them from their ground, took nine field-pieces, and pursued them to a redoubt where they made some stand, but were soon forced from thence quite under the walls of Pondicherry. Colonel Mon-





A PLAN  
of the  
Country round  
**PONDICHERY.**  
By J. CALL,  
Chief Engineer.

Large Fort of War in  
which 100 Men were posted  
and 500 Europeans to guard  
the North side.



son had provided for intercepting them, having first marched himself in pursuance of this plan with two regiments to surprize the Waldour and Tamarind redoubts, and thus forcing his way within the Bound-hedge, cut off the retreat of the main body of the French which major Smith was to drive into his hands; but the night being very dark, part of colonel Monson's detachment mistook their way, which causing a delay, the colonel, anxious for the success of his plan, put himself at the head of the grenadiers and led them on. The enemy soon gave way, abandoned three redoubts, and left behind them fifteen pieces of cannon; but the great advantage proposed by this success was unfortunately lost, for colonel Monson in the attack received a shot which broke both the bones of his leg, and the commander in chief being thus disabled at so critical a juncture, the troops contented themselves with securing the advantage they had gained, and took post in the Bound-hedge. The next day the whole army encamped at Oullagary, from whence strong detachments were made to protect the workmen in fortifying the redoubts they had taken, and another detachment marched to invest Ariancopang. The enemy knowing it must fall, withdrew the garrison and blew up one side of the fort, which we soon repaired and established a post there.

THE present loss which the army sustained by the accident that had befallen colonel Monson, and the consequences to be apprehended from it, induced the Governor and Council most earnestly to entreat colonel Coote to resume the command. Colonel Coote, equally convinced of the necessity of his complying with their request, immediately set out for the army and arrived at the camp the 20th of September. The beginning of the next month, finding the ene-

1760. my were destroying the Blancherie and strengthening the ground to the northward, he took three companies of sepoys from the nearest post, and attacked them in three different places. After an hour's smart firing, he got possession of a small redoubt which they were fortifying, and immediately ordered a party of pioneers to close the gorge and endeavour to make it tenable. The same night at twelve, it was attacked by three hundred Europeans and seven companies of sepoys, who got possession, but were soon driven out again.

THE season of the Monsoon approaching, on the 6th of October colonel Coote ordered the whole line to strike their tents and march by the left a mile and a half from their old ground, in order to encamp on a hill during the rains.

THE next day admiral Stevens, who lay off Pondicherry, sent in the boats of the fleet to cut the Balcine and Hermione out of the harbour. They moved off at one o'clock in the morning in two divisions: that which was commanded by captain Newson attacked the Balcine, and lieutenant Curry with his division attempted the Hermione. They soon became masters of both, notwithstanding they met with a stout resistance from the ships, and a smart fire from the shore and a floating battery.


THIS service being effected, on the 23d the admiral having ordered five ships to remain off Pondicherry, sailed himself with the remainder of his squadron to Trincomalay. Colonel Coote not being able to carry on any vigorous operations before the return of the ships, and knowing that whatever works he should construct would most probably be destroyed and levelled by the rains, was solely attentive, while the

the Monsoon continued, to cutting off all communication between the garrison and country. 1760.

THEREFORE during that season nothing material was done but by major Preston; who being reinforced by a considerable detachment from the army, was particularly employed in blockading the fortress of Gingee, and intercepting the convoys which they continually attempted to send out from thence to the relief of Pondicherry. Besides this eminent service, major Preston with his usual activity was from time to time sending out detachments from his little army, to dispossess the enemy of such small forts or posts as they had occupied, with a view to facilitate the means of stealing in supplies to the town.

THIS brave and vigilant officer had the good fortune to see all his undertakings crowned with the success they deserved.

By the end of November the weather appeared to be settled, and it was judged that the rainy season, was over, therefore colonel Coote, desirous of bringing the besieged to terms, imagined he might greatly add to the distress of a garrison already weakened with famine, and mutinous through discontent, by fatiguing them with the constant alarm of some batteries playing from a distance on several parts of the town. The garrison was now so pressed with famine that the number of deserters increased daily, and what was the most melancholy proof of their desperate situation, fourteen hundred of the poor inhabitants were driven out of the town; and when our advanced guard of sepoy ordered them to halt, they were fired at from the walls, both with musquetry and cannon, and three of those unhappy wretches were killed. They remained some days in that de-

1761.  plorable state, without any thing to feed on but the roots of grafs, till at length colonel Coote, finding they were constantly fired at as they attempted to return to their habitations, permitted them to pass his guard and go into the country.

To give a particular detail of the approaches which were made to a fort that was not reduced thereby would be unnecessary. It was the vigilance and conduct of colonel Coote and the sea officers that brought the garrison to such extremity as to oblige them to surrender without bloodshed. Such was the state of Pondicherry, when a sudden storm of wind arising the first day of the year 1761, put the whole fleet into extreme danger, and destroyed three ships of the line, the Duke of Aquitain, the Sunderland, the Newcastle, and the Queenborough frigate. The crews of the two last with the ordnance and stores were saved, but those of the first-mentioned perished in the sea. Several of the other ships suffered in the storm, but fortunately the Norfolk received little damage, and the admiral soon returned to his station, and continued the blockade of the harbour.

M. LALLY took great pains to avail himself of the accident which had befallen part of the Squadron, by endeavouring to persuade the neighbouring settlements that the whole was destroyed; but finding himself frustrated in his expectation of obtaining supplies, by the diligence of the admiral, he wrote to colonel Coote in a fit of despair; and having so often and so publicly vowed the ruin of all the English settlements, and actually destroyed those in his power, he delivered up the important fortress of Pondicherry, without any conditions: for what argument could he urge to exempt that place from the fate of Fort St. David.

THE

## COAST of COROMANDEL.

357

THE number of prisoners amounted to two thousand and sixty-seven. The artillery, arms, ammunition, and military stores, were considerable. 1761

So great a change of fortune was brought about by the conduct of the civil and military officers, and the bravery of the troops: for when first col. Coote came upon the coast, the English army was greatly inferior in number to that of the French, yet under that disadvantage he gained the decisive battle of Wandewash; and thus not only secured our own districts, but by steadily pursuing his plan, without any considerable reinforcement, had the glory of delivering the English settlements in India from their most formidable rival.

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| —embarked from Calcutta and arrives at Visagapatam                                                         |     |
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| —invests and takes Masulipatam by storm                                                                    | 281 |
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| —siege of raised                                                                                           |     |

French



# I N D E X.

|                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| French army, demand a sum of money of Tanjour but are refused ; retire to Pondicherry                                                                                            | 5   |
| —retreat in the night, and leave their artillery behind them                                                                                                                     | 8   |
| —encamp near fort St. David                                                                                                                                                      | 45  |
| —march to Aurengabad, and are disturbed by Ballazerow the chief of the Marattas                                                                                                  | 52  |
| —intrench near Trivedy                                                                                                                                                           | 54  |
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| —retreat to Alletore and Moutehillenour                                                                                                                                          | 68  |
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| —are repulsed with great loss                                                                                                                                                    | 74  |
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| —invade the King of Tanjore's country, take Killy Cottah and Koiladdy, and make themselves masters of the bank, which they begin to cut in three or four places                  | 89  |
| —invest Trichinopoly and cut off the communication from the English                                                                                                              | 39  |
| —retreat, and encamp on the island of Seringam                                                                                                                                   | 94  |
| —dispute the Nabob's right to Velloure                                                                                                                                           | 117 |
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| French                                                                                                                                                                           |     |

# I N D E X.

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| —seize a large Dutch ship and carry it into Pondicherry                                                                                                                           | 180 |
| —army abandon Seringam and the English take possession of it                                                                                                                      |     |
| —take Nagore                                                                                                                                                                      | 181 |
| —march to Trivalour, and send deputies to the King of Tanjore to demand seventy lacks of roupees, a free passage for their army through his country, and assistance of his troops |     |
| —demand a second time five lacks of roupees; the King will give them but four                                                                                                     | 183 |
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| —seize Sadras, turn out the Dutch soldiers, and garrison it                                                                                                                       | 181 |
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| —soldiers sent to guard three boats laden with ammunition from Sadras to the Black Town, while asleep are overcome and bound by the boat-men who land at Fort St. David           |     |
| —spring a mine which is of no service to them                                                                                                                                     |     |
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| —abandon Narisipore and retire to Masulipatam                                                                                                                                     | 278 |
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## G

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B b

treasure

# I N D E X.

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## J

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| Mac-                                                                                                                                                                                            |     |

# I N D E X.

## M

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| ——upon the defeat of his father retires to Trichinopoly                                                                                                   | 6   |
| ——ſolicits with the Engliſh for aſſiſtance to ſupport him againſt the rebels, and is joined by captain Cope at Wal-dore: his gallant preſent to Nazirzing | 6   |
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| ——declare war againſt the Engliſh-Company, and are defeated by captain Dalton                                                                             | 53  |
| ——they attack an advanced poſt, and cut all the men to pieces                                                                                             | 54  |
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# I N D E X.

|                                                                                                 |     |
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| —chiefs are at variance                                                                         | 39  |
| —demand Trichinopoly, and are refused; separate their troops                                    | 40  |
| —attack the English camp and are repulsed                                                       | 54  |
| —and Maissoreans join the French at Seringam                                                    | 61  |
| —try to cut off the communication between Trichinopoly and Pondeman's country, and are repulsed | 63  |
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| —conclude a treaty with the Governor of Bombay, to join in the reduction of Angria              | 122 |
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| —farm out their revenue of Surat to an officer                                                  | 289 |
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| —with his troops joins colonel Lawrence                                                         | 91  |
| —refuses to march till his subsidies are paid                                                   | 93  |
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| —opposes his brother, and drives his forces out of Madura                                       | 138 |
|                                                                                                 | Mah |



# I N D E X.

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| Monagee, pays the Nabob a visit with the assurance of Friendship from the King of Tanjore                       | 114 |
| Monson, Major, wounded at the taking of Conjeveram                                                              | 265 |
| ——takes Timmery fort                                                                                            | 344 |
| ——joined by the marines, takes Carical, Chillambrum, and Verdachilum                                            | 347 |
| ——defeats the French at Oulagary                                                                                | 352 |
| Monsoon described                                                                                               | 322 |
| Moolah Allee Shaw, governor of Gombroon, resides at <del>Semra</del>                                            | 300 |
| ——very troublesome to the merchants, and extorts, by means of his Arabs, great loans from them                  | 301 |
| ——assures the English of assistance                                                                             | 305 |
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| ——pays part of his tribute to major Killpatrick                                                                 |     |
| ——refuses to fulfil his engagement                                                                              |     |
| Moracin, Mr. sent to reinforce M. De Conflans at Masulipatam                                                    | 286 |
| ——finds it taken; sails with his troops to Gangam, where they are greatly harassed by the Raja                  |     |
| ——arrives at Pouliacat; is attacked by colonel Fisher, who takes ten of his officers prisoners                  |     |
| ——returns to Pondicherry with the remains of his army                                                           |     |

# I N D E X.

|                                                                                                                                                                            |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Morarow, commander of the Marattas in Nazirzing's army, account of him                                                                                                     | 9   |
| —sent in pursuit of the French, and with fifteen men breaks through their army                                                                                             |     |
| —his detachment defeated by the French                                                                                                                                     | 12  |
| —has a design upon Trichinopoly                                                                                                                                            | 49  |
| —is joined by 3000 Marattas                                                                                                                                                |     |
| —goes over to the French                                                                                                                                                   | 56  |
| —ravages the country, and cannonades Trividy, which the English take from them, and retire                                                                                 | 54  |
| —attacks a party of the Tadjore troops                                                                                                                                     | 90  |
| —for a stipulated sum, paid by the Nabob and King of Tanjore, leaves the French army and returns to his own country                                                        | 91  |
| —rebels, and endeavours to make himself independent                                                                                                                        | 132 |
| Muffoot, Siddee, seizes the castle of Surat, 1756, and appropriates to himself one third part of the revenues of the town                                                  | 288 |
| —his force                                                                                                                                                                 | 293 |
| —surrenders the castle of Surat                                                                                                                                            | 295 |
| Muzapherzing, lays claim to the government of the Carnatick                                                                                                                | 4   |
| —goes to Sattaarah, enters into alliance with Chunda Saib, whom he gets released, and applies to Ballazerow for assistance to support his pretensions, who disappoints him |     |
| —raises an army, is joined by the French, gains a victory over Anaverdy Cawn, whom he kills near Arcot, and takes Mauphus Cawn prisoner                                    | 4   |
| —takes Arcot, over-runs the whole province, retires to Pondicherry, and appoints Chunda Saib Nabob of Arcot                                                                | 5   |
| —raises contributions and lays siege to Tanjore, and receives a large sum to raise the siege                                                                               |     |
| —and Chunda Saib, marches out of Pondicherry with a large army commanded by M. D'Auteuil                                                                                   | 6   |
| —his army dispersed, he submits to Nazirzing, who detains him a prisoner of state                                                                                          | 9   |
| —proclaimed by the French Viceroy of the Deckan                                                                                                                            | 14  |
| —routed                                                                                                                                                                    | 16  |

# I N D E X.

## N

|                                                                                                                                              |     |
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| —is prevented by captain Dalton                                                                                                              | 52  |
| —endeavours to get possession of Trichinopoly by stratagem, and makes a proposal to M. De Sauffay to join him, which he rejects with disdain | 113 |
| —decamps from Trichinopoly, marches home and raises a rebellion                                                                              | 114 |
| —takes Tinnevely and, besieges Madura                                                                                                        | 130 |
| Nazeabulla Cawn, refuses to pay his arrears, and is supported by the French                                                                  | 145 |
| Nazirzing, appointed Viceroy of the Deckan by the Mogul                                                                                      | 3   |
| —marches an army from Aurengabad, to punish Maza-pherzing and Chunda Saib for their rebellion                                                | 4   |
| —routs the rebels forces, and cuts the French gunners to pieces                                                                              | 8   |
| —retakes Arcot                                                                                                                               | 10  |
| —marches to retake Gingee; surrounds it                                                                                                      | 13  |
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